




1996

The Plea of the Land: "Teach Our Children Better". Legislated Educational Reform and National Education Association Affiliates: Stakeholder Reports in Minnesota, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania

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Abstract

Since the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*, our country has engaged in an educational reform movement. This study examines the intervening years of National Education Association (NEA) state affiliate key members' activities and attitudes in Minnesota, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania involved with state-legislated educational reform. A neglected issue in *A Nation at Risk* is teacher unionism on reforms. Exploratory field study conducted (1988-89) unearthed salient issues. Five major variables considered in selection of states studied include: known unionism level; reform degree undertaken legislatively since 1983; value ascribed and citation frequency of reform; accessibility of significant players; and Elazar's state political cultures' category: moralistic, individualistic, or traditionalistic. Including return 1995 site visits, more than fifty people interviewed revealed state NEA affiliate involvement for construction or obstruction in legislated educational reform. A major question of this study is "What are the involvements and/or impacts of the National Education Association's affiliate groups in or on legislated reform policy decisions in three states?" The findings in three politically and educationally different states may prove significant to researchers and "reformers" who want to optimize forward movement. The analysis of selected cases articulates detrimental or helpful patterns and processes in making educational improvements in regard to NEA affiliate groups' involvements.

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THE PLEA OF THE LAND: "TEACH OUR CHILDREN BETTER"

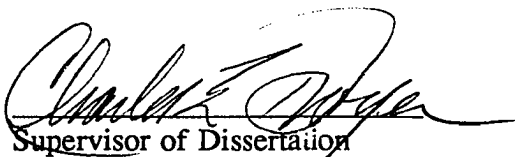
**Legislated Educational Reform and National Education Association Affiliates:
Stakeholder Reports in Minnesota, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania**

Phyllis Fox Catz

A DISSERTATION
in
Education

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1996



Supervisor of Dissertation



Graduate Group Chairperson

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PHYLLIS FOX CATZ

1996

DEDICATION

This dissertation would not have been possible without those to whom it is dedicated with my love:

Sanford Catz, my husband and friend for your persistence, patience, prodding, pushing, and your belief in the possibility and in me;

Sheryl Catz, my first born daughter for your understanding, wisdom, and counsel as you share the fruits of your own education;

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To the memories of:

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Ruth Pollas Fox, my loving, supportive mother for your open-armed acceptance and your insistence that I should be a teacher so that I could be there for the children;

and **"Anut" Harriet Pollas** for teaching me that "education is the way up and out!" and making certain that I had the college degree that you could not have...

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The many people who graciously allowed me to interview them and record their words here;

My "cheering section" of friends, family, and former students who have urged me on and helped me in a thousand ways.

ABSTRACT

The Plea of the Land: "Teach Our Children Better"

Legislated Educational Reform and National Education Association Affiliates:

Stakeholder Reports in Minnesota, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania

Phyllis Fox Catz

Dr. Charles Dwyer

Since the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*, our country has engaged in an educational reform movement. This study examines the intervening years of National Education Association (NEA) state affiliate key members' activities and attitudes in Minnesota, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania involved with state-legislated educational reform. A neglected issue in *A Nation at Risk* is teacher unionism on reforms. Exploratory field study conducted (1988-89) unearthed salient issues. Five major variables considered in selection of states studied include: known unionism level; *reform* degree undertaken legislatively since 1983; value ascribed and citation frequency of *reform*; accessibility of significant players; and Elazar's state political cultures' category: *moralistic*, *individualistic*, or *traditionalistic*. Including return 1995 site visits, more than fifty people interviewed revealed state NEA affiliate involvement for construction or obstruction in legislated educational reform. A major question of this study is "What are the involvements and/or impacts of the National Education Association's affiliate groups in or on legislated reform policy decisions in three states?" The findings in three politically and educationally different states may prove significant to researchers and "*reformers*" who want to optimize forward movement.

The analysis of selected cases articulates detrimental or helpful patterns and processes in making educational improvements in regard to NEA affiliate groups' involvements.

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THE PLEA OF THE LAND: "TEACH OUR CHILDREN BETTER"

Legislated Educational Reform and National Education Association Affiliates: Stakeholder Reports in Minnesota, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

"The Challenge to Reformers" was the headline article in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Sunday, May 8, 1994). The subtitle read "Fixing the Schools" and continued with: "A major effort a decade ago fell far short. There has been plenty of finger-pointing. Now, officials prepare to try again." (p. A-1) While this article dealt with the efforts to change the Philadelphia Public School System, one needs only to pick up a newspaper, listen to a news broadcast, read a current events magazine, or hear a debate about Presidential or other political elections to partake of the 1980's and 90's version of educational reform dialogue. *Reform* is a fuzzy, ill-defined term that is sometimes realized or applied after the fact. What is not fuzzy is, that as in previous American eras, many sectors of society believe that there is much amiss with American public school education. The term *educational reform* often encompasses post-secondary programs as well as on-the-job training. While these areas impact on American productivity and ability to compete internationally, for purposes of this study, *educational reform* and *school reform* are used interchangeably to mean American public K-12 education. For the most part, the reformers and the critics cited in this paper speak about public school systems.

The actors in this drama of reform include federal, state, and local government

officials; pressure groups composed of parents, students, business and community leaders; professionals in schools of education; commission members of varying hues; and teacher organization members. Editors, pundits, politicians, and just plain people have roles and opinions about what needs to happen in schools if public education is to be better or perceived as better. Reform action is often directed from the "top-down" as legislative initiative or governmental intervention. In some instances, changes in schools are initiated from the "bottom-up" by people who are internal members of schools or school systems. Organizations *per se* do not reform; organizations are composed of people. It is the willingness and ability of the people involved with organizations who may have to do the changing if new ways of accomplishing tasks and goals are to be found. "Organizations are about resources, seekers, and power," according to Charles Dwyer. This paper focuses on some of the actors and stakeholders (those seekers of power and users of resources) in the reform and restructuring of schools through state-level legislation; and investigates their reports, perceptions, and interpretations of their own and others' involvement in educational reform. I take no position on the desirability or effectiveness of any or all state-legislated reforms, but acknowledge these efforts as part of this reform era's phenomena worth discussing. It is through the eyes and voices of the interviewees that I present what these aspects of reform bring to the public conversation about educational improvement. Questions concerning personal power may be appropriate for study and analysis. While personal need fulfillment on the part of the members of the cast may be an interesting pursuit for inquiry, it would require a psycho-analytic

dimension which is beyond the scope of this paper.

During an interview with Gary Watts, the then Assistant Executive Director of the National Education Association (NEA) in February of 1988, I learned of the NEA leadership's interest and dedicated resources for the reform movement. Watts asserted that his group was in favor of a "bottom-up" approach that was school-based giving teachers power to make decisions usually made at higher levels of the education hierarchy. One might have anticipated this stance if the well-being of teachers is the foremost issue of the NEA. He pin-pointed schools and districts that were then involved in a research effort to meet those expectations which the NEA called "The Mastery in Learning Project" (not to be confused with Benjamin Bloom's *Mastery Learning*.) He observed that many of the so-called reforms were being imposed by legislators, governors, and members of state departments of education; while other suggestions were coming from federal bureaucrats and vested-interest groups which aimed to control, audit, or demand accountability from teachers, i.e. "top-down."

Watts expressed the NEA's official interest in, and support for, educational reform and/or restructuring. In fact, he pointed out that the first major reform of education from his point of vantage had begun when collective bargaining for teachers began in full force in the 1960's. Yet there were and are those outside of the organization who assert that the NEA seems to be uncomfortable with the whole current reform movement behaving as if there were an attack on their membership. The then Secretary of Education, William Bennett indicated in his *Report Card On The Nation's Schools* (1985) that teacher unions were an obstacle to reform. Speaking

of the reaction to *A Nation at Risk* in a book entitled *Teacher Politics: The Influence of Unions*, the author says:

The National Education Association was suspicious of school reform. NEA officials interpreted criticism of the schools as attacks on teachers.But the bottom line was that school reform once more, emerged from *outside* the confines of the educational establishment. The teacher unions were mainly reactors to public pressures. (Berube, 1988, p. 127)

In the June 1993 issue of *Forbes Magazine*, a lead article asserts that the NEA as the most powerful lobbying organization in the nation is a significant obstacle to the promulgation of *choice* in education. Here *choice* means the right of parents to select any school, private or public, for their children and have tax money follow those children. The article cites comments by Keith Geiger, the NEA elected president, that purport to keep choice from happening because of the vested interest of the NEA in the welfare of public school teachers. Given the divergent views about the NEA's leadership's attitudes towards reform, I was drawn to seek some resolution to the discrepancy.

During the annual national convention of NEA called the Assembly of Delegates (held in Minneapolis in July, 1995), a seemingly new thrust towards involvement in the Reform Movement was voted on in the affirmative. While Watts had indicated the NEA's involvement in reform efforts in 1988, the official stance was more broadly stated at the convention in 1995. The national headquarters had begun to reflect this change prior to the official convention through its strategic planning process. In March, 1995 when I interviewed two NEA staff members in the Washington, D.C. offices, this restructuring was described. Further evidence of this

shift can be found in the *NEA Handbook, 1994-95* where the "Strategic Plan" and "Mission" adopted in 1993 are stated. They read in part:

Mission Statement: To fulfill the promise of a democratic society, the National Education Association shall promote the cause of quality public education and advance the profession of education; expand the rights and further the interests of educational employees; and advocate human, civil, and economic rights for all.

Strategic Objectives:

1. NEA shall expand and protect quality public education as a basic right (pre-K-G) and secure its adequate and equitable funding.
2. NEA shall achieve the restructuring of public schools and enhance the preparation, practice, and professional standards of education employees to improve student learning... (p. 389)

On October 3, 1995 I was fortunate in holding my final interview with an NEA official who turned out to be Watt's colleague and successor (since Watt's retirement) to his leadership in the "reform branch of NEA" now called the Center for Innovation. Bob Barkley has been an active employee of NEA for more than thirty years; he spent his earlier career as a union organizer in state affiliate groups and came to Washington, D.C. about nine years ago just about when this dissertation project was first being developed. Like Watts before him, he discussed the NEA's commitment to reform. He confirmed the more public statements and actions now underway in this regard. Further comments and discussions of materials he shared will be found in Chapter 4. Suffice it to say for now, that he affirmed the thrust of this study and talked about each of the three states selected as well as about the national goals of NEA.

Reform movements appear spasmodically in the history of American education, politics, and religion. Over many years social activists and critics, writers, and

politicians such as Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Lucretia Mott, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, W.E.B. Debois, Walter Reuther, Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Andrew Jackson, Jesse Jackson, John Dewey, John Goodlad, TheodoreSizer, and Ernest Boyer have made large and small contributions to changing the attitudes or lifestyles of people of their own or successive generations through reform of some societal aspect or another. Of particular interest for purposes of this paper is the current reform movement in American public education. While neither the first nor the last such movement, it has strewn the country with a spate of reports and vociferous urgings to do something about what is sometimes called an educational crisis. The requisites for such movements seem to be an identified set of problems or conditions to be eliminated, modified, restructured, changed, or improved; a process or processes by or in which the transformations are to occur; individuals and interest groups willing to assume reformer status; and the actual end-product or reform. While some such reform movements have been precipitated by clearly identified events such as the 1950's challenge to American scientific and technological preeminence by the launching of Russia's Sputnik or spurred on by an era of social conscience such as the 1960's Civil Rights Movement, the current spasm of educational reform seems to have no such identifiable single event or causal epoch. Rather it would seem that a pervasive concern about the loss of American economic stature to other nations combined with both state and national political agendas that focus on that concern, engendered the current efforts. The investigations of educational deficiency and the resultant efforts to change in all three of the above reform periods seem to share the

external nature of the pressures to improve. Forces outside of the educational establishment tended to cause reactions from within. The publication of *A Nation at Risk* during the Reagan Presidency by the National Commission on Excellence in Education was both a result and an encourager of the national dialogue and subsequent reform activities. The bipartisan commission appointed by then Secretary of Education Terrence H. Bell, issued its report on April 26, 1983. Discussed widely, praised by some such as Ernest Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation, and vilified by others such as Michael Kirst of the University of California, (Berube, 1988, p. 129) the report is sometimes cited as an impetus for current reforms.

In fact, President Ronald Reagan had announced his intention to dismantle the Education Department and remove it from the Cabinet level. After the publication of and public reaction to *A Nation at Risk*, Reagan did an about-face and allowed the Department to remain intact. In the dozen years since the publication of that document, a flurry of supposed reform activities has pelted the landscape. Many books, reports, commissions, legislative packages, and debates have come into being since the document first appeared. While questions about the long-term impact of such reports may well be asked, and the true nature of the suggested reforms may be doubted, it is clear that something has happened to change the national interest or at least the discussions and public language about public education during the decades of the eighties and nineties. Reagan's eight years in office ended with the election of his vice president, George Bush as his successor. Both Bush and his opponent in his first presidential run, Michael Dukakis, characterized themselves as proponents of

educational reform. Education seems to hold a place akin to motherhood and apple pie on the current American agenda. Bush designated himself "the Education President" and made motions during his first years in office to demonstrate that the title was deserved. In fact, he convened the nation's governors to what was billed as a first-ever "Education Summit" to discuss what could be done to improve education. In addressing the Congress on the occasion of his first "State of the Union" (January 31, 1990), Bush once more made education a priority of his administration. He listed the following objectives which are paraphrased:

1. Children should come to school prepared to learn, therefore he was requesting additional funding for Head Start (an original component of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and Bush's effort to recognize the importance of early childhood and family involvement.)
2. The graduation rate of American high schools should improve to at least 90% by the year 2000 from its current rate of 75%. (Assuming that a high school diploma is useful in acquiring gainful employment, this goal would help to create a more marketable American work-force less likely to need governmental intervention.)
3. We should have national assessments at grades 4, 8, and 12 in certain key subjects. (This is consistent with some of the state-level reforms where statewide testing is used as a supposed reform and impetus to improve education.)
4. Our students are to be among the best in the world in math and science

by the year 2000. (This is the articulation of our national concern for falling behind other nations technologically.)

5. All adults should be skilled and literate by the watershed year of 2000. (This was an allusion to our lower than other nations' literacy rates and productivity.)
6. Students ought to attend schools that have "disciplined environments" and are "drug free" places. (Here Bush was hitting at issues of great concern to some in the public.)

He dubbed all of this agenda as the "Education Excellence Act of 1990". The content and context for educational reform seems then to have lasted for the more than seven years of the eighties decade if one dates its onset to the publication of the Excellence Commission's *A Nation at Risk* (1983), and continues to do so into the current decade. With the 1992 election of William Jefferson Clinton to the presidency and his subsequent appointment of Richard Riley, former educational reform governor of South Carolina, as Secretary of Education, the reform movement conversation was in place for yet another administration. The same basic goals were carried over into the Clinton presidency and with some modification and additions first appeared as "Education Act: Goals 2000". By March, 1994 the goals had been enacted into legislation entitled "Educate America: Goals 2000" and were to be funded at the national level.

Clinton participated as Governor of Arkansas in the Governors' Conference from which the Bush goals emanated. As governor, Clinton was a leader of the

Education Commission of the States (ECS), a national group of governors and state education commissioners. A brief report on the 1988 ECS convention at which Clinton was a presence can be found in the *Appendix* of this paper as I was fortunate enough to have been in attendance along with many others including governors, state education heads, and reformers such as Ted Sizer.

One important issue that was not mentioned in *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for School Reform* was the significance and/or impact of teacher bargaining and unionism on the proposed reforms which is, as Lieberman suggests in the Winter, 1984 *Government Union Review*, equivalent to trying "...to restore our automobile manufacturing industry to world leadership...[by] com[ing] up with a series of recommendations on labor policy that totally ignored the existence of the United Auto Workers." (p. 65) In light of comments such as Lieberman's, this dissertation seems to be germane to what is occurring in educational reform. The Excellence Commission did say that we were in deep trouble:

If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might have well viewed it an act of war. (*A Nation at Risk*, p. 5)

They also expressed the national concern that others in the world are surpassing us industrially citing Japan and its auto industry as one example.

The National Education Association (NEA) is the largest organization of teachers in the United States based on the number of members that it claims. In 1994 that was more than 2.2 million men and women (*NEA Handbook, 1994-95*, p. 7). Its workings are complex and interesting in and of themselves. Put in the context of the

national preoccupation with reform of education, the NEA organization and power structure seem to be part of what is to be assessed and understood. It would seem that if teachers and their organizations are not taken into account, changes for the betterment of schools may have little likelihood of taking root. Lip-service endorsing improvements, state policies, school board mandates, legislation, and other such forays into education, can be silenced behind the closed doors of teachers' classrooms. How significant the NEA is in the formation of teacher attitudes and performance may be considered and diagnosed if forward movement is actually to be made. The NEA and affiliates are major lobbying organizations at national and state levels. Since it is evident that this reform period is more than a "blip" on the timeline of American educational history, and since the power structure and leadership of the NEA and its affiliates can be either inhibiting or propelling forces, it would seem appropriate to assess the actual involvement of that organization and its leaders in reforms. As indicated above, the NEA is undergoing organizational and structural changes as this paper is being written. However, its affiliate groups seem to have stayed intact, and are the core of this dissertation.

Background

In a small 1988 sampling of individuals from national organizations and South Carolina, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania, I discovered that no two people meant exactly the same thing by educational reform. The core belief does seem to be that something is wrong and needs to be fixed. Having spoken to Gary Watts at the NEA, I became

fascinated by that organization's stance on reform. While he said that they favored teacher empowerment reforms (i.e. *bottom-up*,) much that seems to have happened at the state level of policy-making looks *top-down*. The research for this dissertation looked at some of the reforms legislated or attempted to be legislated in South Carolina, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania; and discusses what reform means to individual stakeholders and their peer groups searching for what can be done to bring congruence between what is sought and what is happening.

The accompanying diagram (*Illustration 1* to be found on page 15 of this paper) was crafted to show the loops of relationships that are involved in policy development and enactment for education on a state level. While an original design modeled after political science investigation (see e.g. Thompson. 1976. *Policymaking in American Public Education*, page 102, figure 6-2), it is meant as a starting point. The linkages and relationships involved in the process of policy creation are particularly related to top-down state policies. While small shifts in groups and terms could make this model useful to district or local level reforms, the interest here will be with states' roles. A branch of study to which this paper may make some contribution is *educational policy-making*, since it is here that analysis and discussions of the political nature of education occur with the most legitimacy. Politics involve the distribution of resources or the "who gets what, where, and how" of government decision. Pressure groups have a significant place in this matrix. The particular groups to be discussed here are the NEA affiliates in each of the three states investigated. There also may be a contribution to the field of *labor relations* as it applies to

education since the NEA affiliate groups are significant policy-actors in locales other than those under investigation. Certainly, as auxiliaries of one of the nation's largest employee organizations and lobbying groups, state NEA affiliates are structures with which, and people with whom, policy-makers may be concerned. One investigation of this research is how and if there is concern from policy-makers. The application of that analysis may provide clues as to how best to employ the structures of the NEA when educational reform is being enacted or sought. On the other hand, because people make up the organizations that are being studied and the organizations are composed of different people at different times, this study may prove to have little or no significance of applicability other than to suggest that the power needs of the actors need to be understood.

Illustration 1 is a diagrammatic model of relationships/linkages among and between major component groups in the state educational policy processes. It is an attempt to illustrate that a state NEA affiliate such as the South Carolina Education Association (SCEA), the Minnesota Education Association (MEA), or the Pennsylvania State Education Association (PSEA) function as hubs of wheels where the outgoing spokes are almost exclusively lobbying links and the incoming spokes are primarily regulatory. The arrow ends indicate whether an activity is mutual or one-directional. On the wheel rim, the policy actors are located near or next to an agency with which there is some close linkage. For instance, the NEA state groups have lobbying relationships with state governors. Proximity indicates involvement; arrow ends indicate mutuality. During one of his campaigns, former Governor Robert Casey of

Pennsylvania was endorsed by the PAC (Political Action Committee) arm of PSEA; in turn, PSEA lobbied the governor and the legislature successfully to enact "fair share" union dues from non-members who are nonetheless represented in the bargaining units. Other such events can be placed into context through the imposition of the chart. In the most recent gubernatorial election in Pennsylvania (November, 1994), Thomas Ridge was not endorsed by the PSEA. When he introduced a major thrust of his administration in the form of an education voucher program, it was defeated in the legislature. A coalition of the stakeholder groups on the wheel including PSEA opposed the voucher system, and were successful in lobbying the legislature to defeat it. This mobilization of the group calling itself *Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers* will be discussed more in a Pennsylvania analysis portion of this paper.

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graph TD
    GOV(GOVERNOR)
    LEG(LEGISLATURE)
    DE(DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION)
    SAA(NEA STATE AFFILIATE)
    SAFT(STATE AFT)
    LSDS(LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS  
BOARDS AND ADMIN.)
    NEA(NEA)
    LSE(LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT  
EDUCATION ASSOCIATION)
    PS(PARENTS/STUDENTS)

    GOV <--> LEG
    GOV <--> DE
    LEG <--> DE
    SAA <--> GOV
    SAA <--> LEG
    SAA <--> DE
    SAA <--> SAFT
    SAA <--> LSDS
    SAA <--> NEA
    SAA <--> LSE
    SAA <--> PS
    SAFT <--> LEG
    LSDS <--> DE
    LSDS <--> LSE
    LSE <--> PS
    NEA <--> PS
    PS <--> SAA
    PS <--> LSDS
    PS <--> LSE
    PS <--> NEA
    SAA -.-> GOV
    SAA -.-> LEG
    SAA -.-> DE
    SAA -.-> SAFT
    SAA -.-> LSDS
    SAA -.-> NEA
    SAA -.-> LSE
    SAA -.-> PS
    SAFT -.-> LEG
    LSDS -.-> DE
    LSDS -.-> LSE
    LSE -.-> PS
    NEA -.-> PS
    PS -.-> SAA
    PS -.-> LSDS
    PS -.-> LSE
    PS -.-> NEA
  
```

..... Regulatory Link
 _____ Lobbying Link

A major question of this study is "What are the involvements and/or impacts of the National Education Association's affiliate groups in or on the legislated current reform policy decisions in three states?" Subsumed in that larger question are the following framing concerns:

1. What are or have been the major legislatively-initiated educational reforms taking place in the three states since 1983?
2. What has caused the reforms? (In other words, are the reforms responses to educational and intellectual needs of students or are they responses to outside pressures from business interests, taxpayer concerns, or teacher organization agendas?)
3. Is there a national directive from the NEA parent organization that each affiliate follows? (In other words, does association with the NEA require a specific and uniform agenda of issues to be pursued by member organizations?)
4. If reform is taking place in their states, are the NEA groups major actors for construction or obstruction, and if the affiliates prove to be significant, is their agreement required for reform to begin and then thrive?
5. How do the governmental bodies and policy-makers view and/or use the NEA groups for purposes of policy formulation or implementation?
6. What happens if the Education Association is ignored as a state embarks on restructuring schools?

7. Is membership in the NEA affiliate consistent with teacher interests in reform? (In other words, if the affiliate group is represented on governmental reform committees are teachers in general being represented? *or* Do unions really represent the whole "profession" which they claim to serve?)
8. Can generalizations be made from one state's experiences to other locales? (In other words, can there be any applicability of the information garnered for this paper so that a state undertaking reform, might benefit from the knowledge acquired in this study?)

Other questions answered during the course of this investigation include ones in regard to methodology and significance. Several bodies of literature searched include: current educational reform, educational policy-making studies, educational unionism studies, field study manuals, organization theories, political science theories, multiple documents generated in the three states by the government agencies involved with education and by the affiliate NEA groups as well as NEA publications. Some of the foregoing are important to an actual literature review while others provide data to inform the final analysis. Materials produced at the state level and by the NEA and its affiliates are used primarily as part of the method of study in that they provide documentation which, when joined with interviews and observations, contribute to a triangulation of views for the field studies.

While there are several ways of beginning a study such as this, one method is to do exploratory field work in order to unearth the problems, dilemmas, and questions

to be asked. Having done some preliminary literature review and initial discussion of the problem at hand, I opted for doing just that. Several variables were considered in the selection of the sites to be visited and are discussed in the Site and Sample Selection section of this paper. The opportunity to actually go into the field, interview principal participants in each state, gather documents, and then assess what had been accomplished has provided invaluable lessons. Having made that first incursion into the field in 1988, the question of return visitation in 1995 was significant. Enough time had passed to see where some of the reforms which informants discussed had gone. Also, the original interviews had been reviewed and analyzed to search for patterns. An important next step was to clarify issues that needed further investigation and then return to Minnesota and South Carolina to do follow-up visits as well as to speak to some additional Pennsylvanians. Some of the original informants had left their former posts. Secretary Thomas Gilhool of Pennsylvania and Commissioner Ruth Randall of Minnesota have moved out of those offices. Both indicated a willingness to discuss their respective roles in state reform with me despite having gone to other careers. I had informally interviewed Gilhool while he was Secretary of Education, and had spoken to him on a few occasions subsequently. I formally interviewed Gilhool in 1995 in his Philadelphia law office. This was in addition to the conversations with him over the years beginning in 1987. A discussion of that interview will be found in Chapter 4. Ruth Randall authored a book on *Choice* after leaving Minnesota which I have consulted. Richard Riley is now in a national position as Secretary of Education not just former governor of South Carolina. With legislative

terms held in the Spring, return visits were conducted out-of-state while legislators were accessible, schools were in session, and sufficient time had gone by to check on the status of some of the proposed or nascent reforms that were discussed on the first trips and interviews in 1988.

CHAPTER 2

Research Design

Having decided that what there was to investigate was the level and kinds of involvements of state NEA affiliates, the question of how to go about actually finding out lead me to field study as the preferred methodology for this study.

Field studies use Gertrude Stein's philosophy: When her friend asked her to reply, on her death bed to 'What are the answers?' Stein replied, 'What is the question?' (Marshall, 1981, p. 14)

In essence, the purpose of field study is to discover important questions, processes, and relationships. The focal groups in analyzing these processes and relationships are the NEA affiliates in three states. As Marshall suggests in an unpublished 1981 document (since published but given to me in its original form) entitled *Developing and Defending a Field Study Dissertation Proposal*:

The field study approach to research demands flexible research design and site and sample selection. It requires an exploratory approach to the problem statement....Research instruments cannot be preselected since relevant variables in complex social systems have not been identified at the proposal stage. Relevant variables will emerge during the research; research proposals can only suggest possible themes and foci. This state of affairs leaves proposal writers floundering and proposal judges guessing. (p. 2)

While endeavoring not to flounder and keeping the committee from too much guess work, an exploratory approach was used. "The field study dissertation proposal must demonstrate readiness to plunge into the field." (Marshall, p. 3) I am by nature always willing to plunge *in medias res*. Furthermore,

...an exploratory study, using a field study approach cannot have a precise delimiting problem statement, nor can it have precise hypotheses. The purpose of the field study is to discover the important

questions, processes and relationships, not to test them. (Marshall, p. 12)

Functioning as field studier, I ascertained the accessibility of principal actors in the reform drama of three states and then proceeded to interview them extensively in initial state site visits in an exploratory effort to discover the real questions and dilemmas in this project. The environmental context of state policy-making in an era of reform includes the existence of the union agenda and ways of dealing with the organizational structure of the state NEA affiliates. One way to uncover the NEA forces for construction and/or obstruction in regard to issues of reform, was to actually go into the field and ask the appropriate people to reveal the NEA involvement as they saw it. One fascinating aspect of this method, is that each informant may relate a tale about the same event but, because of individual perceptions, tell the story quite differently than another may. In Gareth Morgan's *Images of Organization*, he asserts that the lenses we use in order to see and understand what is around us are filtered through controlling metaphors which we have learned from our experiences and our culture.

Site and Sample Selection

As alluded to in the Introduction, a set of criteria was developed by which to select the initial major sites. Five major variables were considered in the selection of the three states to be studied:

1. Known level of unionism of the state assessed through literature review as well as interviews of national experts (Perry and Pipho) and confirmed by local

informants (listed in each state discussion;)

2. Degree and nature of major educational reforms currently underway or undertaken since 1983 through governmental action, particularly through legislation or mandation assessed as in (1);
3. Value ascribed as well as frequency of citation in the literature as a locus of reform;
4. Accessibility of interviewees (i.e. receptivity and willingness of significant players to meet with researcher;)
5. Category in Elazar's theoretical model of state political cultures: *moralistic*, *individualistic*, or *traditionalistic*. (Elazar, 1984)

Based on these criteria, a selection was made. The states were paired on the first two criteria or variables. For instance, if a state with a strong union tradition were selected where considerable educational reform was going on then a state with either a strong union/weak reform movement would be paired with it or a state with a weak union and strong reform would be found. In fact the selection of the three states provides for exactly that. South Carolina is a weak union state, ranking 51 out of 51 by percent organized in 1982 according to the 1985 Edition of the *Union Sourcebook* where much reform can be documented, Education Improvement Act or EIA legislation being one of the most significant. It can be paired with Minnesota which is a strong union state, ranking 15 out of 51 in 1982 with a strong reform initiative. Minnesota's strong unionism is matched by Pennsylvania's union status, ranking 11 out of 51 in 1982, but the two states differ considerably on the basis of reforms

undertaken at the onset of this study in 1988. Pairing South Carolina with Minnesota or Pennsylvania results in two variables being different.

Criterion #3 (Value and Citation) provided for differences as well; Pennsylvania was not mentioned frequently as a reform state during the baseline of 1983 to 1988 while Minnesota and South Carolina were mentioned frequently (William Bennett, 1988; Chester Finn at a national conference; Chris Pipho in several editions of *Kappan*.)

Criterion #4 (Accessibility) was a requirement that each state needed to meet. One area of interest in this regard is the willingness of officials of the NEA affiliates in both South Carolina and Minnesota to be available, while some officials of Pennsylvania's Education Association were at first reluctant to share information with me (for reasons discussed later). Every other group or interested party seemed readily available and willing to discuss education issues.

The final criterion (Elazar's Categories) was applied to produce differences among and between each of the states chosen: one southern (South Carolina), one northern (Pennsylvania), and one mid-western state (Minnesota) proved to fit into each of the culture's divisions. When Elazar's model is applied, one of each variety is found: Pennsylvania is *individualistic*, South Carolina is *traditionalistic*; and Minnesota, *moralistic*.

These criteria were used so that the resultant study would have the best possible chance of applicability to other states. Regionalism, political cultures, and economic and demographic basis it seems should differ for the purposes of

applicability. Degrees of reform, unionism, and citation differing also gives a range of applicability. Access should not be a problem so that information can be obtained.

TABLE 1
SELECTION CRITERIA CHART

	CRITERIA			
STATE	1. Unionism	2. Reform	3. Citation	5. Political Culture
SC	Low	Very High	Frequent	Traditionalistic
PA	Very High	Low-Mid	Infrequent	Individualistic
MN	Very High	Very High	Frequent	Moralistic

4. Accessibility proved to be equally good in all locations.

1. **UNIONISM:** Attitudes towards unionism are embedded in the social fabric of each region and state which is under study. Charles Perry who heads an NEA study at Wharton and is a nationally-known authority on issues of labor relations particularly related to unions specified South Carolina as very non-union in temperament and actual participation of workers in any kind of union. The largest industry by numbers of persons employed in South Carolina is the textile industry which is highly non-unionized according to Rowan and Barr (1987, pp. 52-101). Perry, likewise designated Pennsylvania and Minnesota as being states with long histories of pro-unionism with large memberships in local and national unions. Rankings by percentage of workers who belonged to unions placed Pennsylvania and Minnesota in the top third of the nation while South Carolina placed last when the baseline data for this report was being gathered. If one looks at the percentages of workers within a state who are unionized, one discovers that Pennsylvania had 27%, Minnesota had 24.5%, and South Carolina had 5.8% in a year when the national average was 21.9%. Ranking the same states by size of union membership placed Pennsylvania as fourth in the nation; Minnesota, 14th; and South Carolina, 41st. (These statistics are from *Union Sourcebook, 1985* and give 1982 ratings.) In 1994, the NEA had a national membership of more than 2.2 million. Of this number, South Carolina had 17,263; Minnesota had 50,039; and Pennsylvania had 131,329 (Statistics found in *NEA Handbook, 1994-95*). Although membership in NEA affiliate groups has been gaining, union membership throughout the country has been slipping. In the most recent data that was viewed from 1993 statistics in the BNA report, entitled *Union Membership*

and Earnings Data Book, South Carolina has 4.2% (149,740) union membership of their total workforce; Pennsylvania has 19% (505,960); and Minnesota has 21.3% (203,520). This still ranks the three states approximately where they were in the earlier rankings: South Carolina is still last and the other two are still in the top quartile although union membership has lowered throughout the country.

2. DEGREE and NATURE of STATEWIDE LEGISLATED REFORM

INITIATIVES: This discussion unfolds as documents and interviews from each site are analyzed. South Carolina's reform package which is called the Educational Improvement Act of 1984 (EIA) included an incentive reward program which is cited by Bennett in *American Education: Making It Work* (1988, p. 7) the Secretary of Education's report on the status of reform since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*. He also makes special mention of one of Minnesota's major initiatives, the Open Enrollment Plan, which offers public school choice to public school students and their parents. In 1988 the Education Commission of the States (ECS) had counted 275 state and local task forces at work on education issues since 1983. In an interview of Chris Piphio, the director of ECS's Clearinghouse, he designated Minnesota and South Carolina as among the country's most interesting and wide-ranging reform states. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, was seen to have very little going on that could be cited as a statewide legislated reform initiative up to 1988. Piphio pointed out that the nature of regulation differs in each of the states and that Northeastern states such as Pennsylvania and New York tend to make incremental changes through state boards of

education instead of through the legislatures. In the last five years (1991-95), Pennsylvania has made some progress through the mandation process. There are Pennsylvania mandates and efforts to improve teacher in-service and certification procedures (Act 178) and the state regulations for graduation requirements have been raised since 1983. Since the initial forays into sites were made, Pennsylvania has put forth other reform initiatives including Instructional Support Teams (IST) and the revision of its curricular requirements as promulgated in Chapter 5 of the state regulations. As of 1992, a raging debate over those Chapter 5 changes had been going on about Outcomes Based Education (OBE) the basis of those changes between the proponents (mostly educators) and detractors (mostly from the "Religious Right" who have taken a national stance against OBE which they consider intrusive into the moral values of children and a representation of "Big Brother" watching.) The Chapter 5 regulations are mandated from the State Board of Education and were originally published by the Pennsylvania Department of Education. While there are huge implications for educational change when and if these regulations are fully in force, they are not dealt with extensively in this paper since they are not legislatively initiated reforms such as the ones from Minnesota and South Carolina. There have also been a few legislative initiatives that have had some impact on statewide educational practices and environments that are included in further discussions.

Revisiting the out-of-state sites after seven years revealed some additional legislated reforms or lack thereof as well as the successes and failures of the original reforms. By happenstance and not actual design, I chanced to arrive in South Carolina

in March, 1995 just as the EIA was under legislative attack. During the visitation week, much went on in the legislative House to weaken or actually kill EIA according to some of the interviewees. Several of the informants to whom I spoke were actively engaged on both sides of the issue of the dedicated penny. Members of the SCEA were actively lobbying for the retention of the penny as were the Executive Director of the Palmetto Teachers Association (a South Carolina organization that characterizes itself as a professional group from the "Palmetto" state) and members of the Business Partnership. The newly elected Republican majority were doing their best to obfuscate the real source of the property tax relief that they had voted into place. Likewise, in April, 1995 when Minnesota was the return site, a conservative thrust in the legislature was attempting to chip away at some of that state's reforms by revamping funding. Of more interest to me in Minnesota was the union front. I happened upon a major event: the merger of the state-level American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association state-affiliate was finalized at the Minnesota Federation of Teachers (MFT) annual convention at which I was an invited observer. Meanwhile, Pennsylvania has had its own spasms over currently proposed reforms.

3. **CITATION:** Minnesota was dubbed the "Great Reform State" in some of the popular press. South Carolina's EIA was enumerated in several books and articles. Expert informants also indicated these as two very interesting locations for educational reform; while Pennsylvania did not show up frequently in any of the information culled.

4. ACCESSIBILITY: While entrance and accessibility often plague field study researchers, principal interviewees were very willing to meet and talk with me on the first round of visits in 1988. Of the twenty-four full interviews, all were tape-recorded with permission of the informants. The open-ended interviews yielded from forty-five minutes to more than three hours in conversations with significant players. Perhaps it is the magic of being a researcher from the University of Pennsylvania or the auspices of Wharton or just good fortune that has allowed for such ready access, but each participant spent much more time than had been anticipated in what seemed to be honest and open commentaries about the topics introduced on the initial visits. The second round of visitations produced another two dozen candid interviews from individuals plus a smattering of tapes of sessions with groups of teachers in faculty rooms and at convention. The notable exception as mentioned, was the first go-round with the PSEA local headquarters which is situated in my home township and school district. The first phone call was met with a rebuff seemingly because I was not then a member and more importantly was then a school board director. A recent strike had just been settled in my school system, and may have accounted for the perception of "enemy". It was only after the president of the local school district PSEA unit vouched that I was "teacher-friendly" and much admired as an education-advocate board member that materials and interviews were forthcoming.

5. POLITICAL CULTURE: According to Spradley in *The Ethnographic Interview* (1980) *culture* is "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and

generate social behavior." (p. 5) It is "the knowledge that people have learned as members of a group [which] cannot be observed directly." (p. 7)

Elazar (1984) takes a close look at what he terms *political culture*: "...pattern of orientation to political action..."(p. 109) He divides the United States into three comparative political cultures: the *individualistic*, the *moralistic*, and the *traditionalistic*. While most states have a mixture of political cultures, the three states in this study have clear predominance of one style each according to Elazar's classifications. He designates Pennsylvania as *individualistic* which he describes as state cultures where government is viewed as "a marketplace" where new programs are "not initiated unless demanded by public opinion." In such states, bureaucracy is viewed "ambivalently" as "undesirable [on one hand] because it limits favors and patronage but good [on the other hand] because it enhances efficiency". He says that politics in such states tend to be "dirty" with party cohesiveness "strong".

Minnesota is the *moralistic* state of this trio. In such states, Elazar says that government is viewed as a "commonwealth (means to achieve the good community through positive action)" and new programs "will initiate without public pressure if believed to be in public interest". Politics in these states is viewed as "healthy" and party cohesiveness "subordinate to principles and issues". Bureaucracy is viewed as "positive".

South Carolina is the *traditionalistic* state among the sites selected. In such states, government is viewed "as a means of maintaining the *existing order*." New programs "will initiate if program serves the interest of the governing elite".

Bureaucracy is viewed "negatively" while politics are "a privilege" and party cohesiveness is "highly personal (based on family and social ties)". (Elazar, p. 124)

Having thus selected sites for investigation, the next process was to assure access and then to go into the field and explore. The process of selecting the population to be interviewed was situational according to the protocol and general atmosphere of the particular state to be visited. Although a number of initial interviews occurred with Pennsylvanians, none were taped and thorough initial interviewing was not undertaken in Pennsylvania in the same manner as in the other two locations for the following reasons: (1) Since we are located here, travel time is less of a consideration than it was for the other two states; (2) Since I have spent the last thirty years as a Pennsylvania public school educator, including sixteen years as a member of a local school board, and the last several years as a doctoral student at the University of Pennsylvania, I am known to many in the educational establishment of this state; (3) My continued professional relationships with Pennsylvania informants dictates a slightly different attribution style; (4) The other two states offered a more objective opportunity to fine-tune interviewing techniques since I am not known in either of them except as a researcher.

Very brief listings of the persons and their titles who were interviewed in all three states may be found in the *Appendices* designated as *NEA Project Status Report, 1988* and *List of Interviews*. To date, at least 50 individual interviews have been conducted of which there are extant tapes and notes. A "protocol" of questions that was used in South Carolina as a starting point for the open-ended interviews which

were held on the first round may be found in the *Appendices*. A task of this research was to classify and code the responses of the informants in ways that allowed data and descriptions to be retrieved meaningfully. Data was organized and charted and may be found in the *Appendices*. Since all of the initial interviews were exploratory in nature, decisions had to be made about further interviews based on that first round. Should these same people be interviewed or surveyed again in more focused ways once documents and initial interviews had been analyzed? When? By what method? Questionnaire or direct interview? What others should be consulted? A major methodological decision was who should be interviewed in the first place and what should they be asked? In each state, top government officials were sought such as governors (former governor and now Secretary of Education Richard Riley is among this group) or their aides, legislators (especially those in leadership positions in education contexts), executive directors of School Boards Associations, executive directors of the NEA affiliates, officers of teacher organizations, heads of AFT affiliates, heads of other teacher groups (e.g., Palmetto State Association in South Carolina), chief state education officers (former Secretary of Education Thomas Gilhool in Pennsylvania, former Commissioner Ruth Randall in Minnesota, and former State Superintendent Charlie Williams in South Carolina), heads of civic groups, researchers and professors, legislative aides, and other major state officials were in the first group. The second set of interviews included several repeaters and some newcomers with the same or similar positions as the first group members. Beside the return visits to Minnesota and South Carolina, Washington, D.C. was the site of two

more trips. Interviewing Washingtonians gave me the big picture into which each of the three states fit. In March, 1995 interviews were held with Department of Education officials and NEA employees. The final visit to D.C. in October, 1995 included final interviews at NEA headquarters. This made it seem as if a full circle had been circumscribed: an NEA official was the first informant and also the last.

The three states thus investigated present three very different political traditions and traditions of education investment, involvement, and achievement. This study may prove to be significant to future researchers and reformers as well as to policy actors who want to identify and optimize interactions for forward movement.

If the researcher could describe the processes whereby well-intended policy is being thwarted [or abetted] policy makers could get insight which would help them make timely alterations. (Marshall, 1981, p. 23)

If the analysis of the cases selected for this study can articulate patterns and processes that were either detrimental or helpful in making educational improvements, then other efforts could be informed of the ways to achieve reform.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review

As indicated, the last ten years have produced a spate of literature dedicated to the reform and restructuring of public education. Some books and writers have even been best sellers in the popular arena. Goodlad, Boyer, Lightfoot, andSizer have produced books that resulted from close inspections of what goes on in American high schools. Others from the education establishment such as former Secretaries of Education William Bennett and Terrence Bell have written widely on what is the matter with and how we might redress the ills of schooling. In fact, one could begin with *A Nation at Risk* and read several dozen such reports and responses to reports. During 1983 alone, five national reports issued following the seminal *A Nation at Risk*, documented the problems of public education: *Action for Excellence* (Education Commission of the States), *Academic Preparation for College* (The College Board), *Making the Grade* (Twentieth Century Fund), *America's Competitive Challenge* (Business Higher Education Forum), and *Educating Americans for the Twenty-first Century* (National Science Board). The following years have not seen fewer treatises and exhortations than that initial flurry.

While this dissertation is based on the educational reform movement since 1983 and reflects the information and discussions set forth in many reform treatises, for purposes of framing this study, two general areas of writing beyond those reform materials would seem to yield the most productive areas of investigation and methods:

- 1) Books and monographs describing teacher union involvements at the state level

and; 2) political and organizational theories that might provide frameworks for understanding the dynamics of state education reform and educational policy-making on the state level.

1. Teacher Unions and State Level Involvement

To access teacher union legislative lobbying efforts, one must cull through numerous treatises on collective bargaining because it was with the onset of this phenomenon that professional teacher associations took on characteristics of other labor unions. While teacher organizations had been on the American scene for many generations, it was during the nineteen-sixties that the groups began the shift to unionism.

Collective negotiations refers to a process by which employers negotiate with the duly chosen representatives of their employees concerning terms and conditions of employment, and on such other matters as the parties may agree or be required to negotiate....Such negotiations are a recent phenomenon. One indication of this is the legislative history of collective negotiations in public education. In 1960, not a single state authorized or required collective negotiations between teachers and school boards. By June, 1967, such legislation had been introduced in about half the states, and had been enacted in nine.(Elam, Leiberman, and Moskow, p 1)

Thus begins an early compendium on teacher unions where the three editors, Elam, Leiberman, and Moskow gathered the thoughts of several theoreticians and practitioners for a book of readings on *Collective Negotiations in Public Education*, June, 1967. A run through of the table of contents yields issues that were then emerging and remain to 1995 as issues of teacher unions and their respective local boards, state legislatures, and the national agenda:

- 1 *Public Employment and Public Policy (W. Willard Wirt)*
- 2 *The Public Interest in Collective Negotiations in Education (George Taylor)*
- 3 *A Framework for Looking at Collective Negotiations in Education (John Fischer)*
- 4 *Collective Negotiations and Public Policy , With Special Reference to Public Education (Morton Godine)*
- 5 *Power and Policy in Education (Myron Lieberman)*
- 6 *Professional Persons in Public Organizations (Ronald Corwin)*

The above six chapters begin to paint the picture of issues with which the country is still involved. Further chapters prove to be very interesting for this discussion as well: *Legal Aspects of Teacher Collective Action, The Importance of State Legislation, The NEA and Collective Negotiations* and subsequent chapters where the AFT, the AAUP, the NASSP, the National School Boards Association are substituted on the stem "*and Collective Negotiations*". The bottom line of this book is that group conflict from teacher organizations and the bureaucracies with which they dealt had not been a major consideration until the advent of unions for teachers with the power to collectively bargain. Another conflict is within the individual teachers themselves: what is it to be a professional and a member of a collective bargaining organization simultaneously? Donald Conrad who was the then secretary of the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities makes the argument that being a professional and a member of NEA as a negotiating group is not in conflict. Teachers, he says, "...must be thought of as possessing three identities. Public school teachers are *employees*. They are *public* employees. And they are *professional* public employees." He cites Barber to defend his position:

Professional behavior may be defined in terms of four essential attributes: a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge;

primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest; a high degree of self-control of behavior through codes of ethics internalized in the process of work socialization and through voluntary associations organized and operated by the work specialists themselves; and a system of rewards (monetary and honorary) that is primarily a set of symbols of work achievement and thus ends in themselves, not means to some end of individual self-interest. (p. 405)

Others who will be discussed later do not hold to this notion. In fact, the self-interest *versus* the public good issue and the teacher as professional *versus* the teacher as union member seem to be at odds to some thinkers.

It may be recalled that the current project had its inception as a research project sponsored by the Wharton School's Labor Relations Division under the auspices of Charles Perry, and that the writer of this paper was engaged to do a small portion of the study on Teacher Empowerment, the NEA, and School Reform. Dr. Perry's interest in this topic had its beginnings during the days of his own dissertational studies and resulted in a number of studies that he went on to do with Wesley Wildman of the University of Chicago. Two of the four volumes of their final report for the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research are of particular interest here as standard-setters of the discussion. Like the previous book cited, these volumes were early analyses of *The Impact of Teacher Bargaining on the Schools* and *Teacher Organizations and Collective Action* and were part of the entire report entitled *Collective Action by Public School Teachers*. The preponderance of data used for this study came from the early years in the mid nineteen-sixties (1964 and 1965 being the source of much information) for this study published in 1968. A later book based on this study entitled *The Impact of Negotiation*

in Public Education (1970) uses the same data-base to discuss what now seem to be the nascent stages of teacher unionism as full-fledged. By reading these volumes, one can garner a brief history of the National Education Association as a teacher organization that begins in 1857. There were sixty teachers, school superintendents, principals, college presidents, and professors who attended a conference in Philadelphia in August of 1857. While the name changed slightly over the years, this was the origin of NEA. Other citations follow the development of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The emphasis of the above book is of course on the collective bargaining movement of teacher organizations and their impact on public education. Perusing more of this work, one discovers analyses of early collective bargaining agreements. Many other writers use a similar method of analyzing teacher union collective bargaining agreements in order to make assertions about the power and/or influence of these organizations. Recalling that Watts told us that the first real reforms resulted from collective bargaining for teachers, makes this an important piece of background.

One can find a series of such studies that begin prior to the 1968 Perry and Wildman study and continue to the present. The sheer volume as well as the span of time over which these studies, books, and articles appear indicates the interest in teacher unionism. Some names appear as authorities in the field over this same time span. In everything from professional journals to textbooks for college courses to studies by research groups such as the Rand Center for Policy Research in Education, the student of this area is offered a rich source of comparisons and contrasts. For

instance, one finds a chapter (Chapter 6: *Public and Nonprofit: Teachers*) in a text, *Collective Negotiations for Public and Professional Employees* (1969) that is dedicated to the discussion of teachers in unions. The chapter is comprised of articles by authorities such as Wesley Wildman (*Collective Action by Public School Teachers*), Michael Moskow (*Teacher Organizations*), Joseph Garbarino (*Professional Negotiations in Education*), David Selden, AFT assistant to the president (*Needed: More Teacher Strikes*), Myron Lieberman and Michael Moskow (*The Future of Collective Negotiations*), and finally T.M. Stinnett, a former NEA official (*What of the Future?*). In this chapter, as is the case in many other books, the dispute and dichotomy between AFT and NEA approaches to unionism are discussed. Another dichotomous juxtaposition made throughout this chapter and in many other sources is that between being a professional and a union member. As one moves into reading current texts (after 1989), one finds that the discussions about the differences between the two major teacher unions centers on their respective reactions to "reform movement elements..." while earlier discussions center on their differing approaches to collective bargaining. The growth and development of the collective bargaining aspect of the teacher unions preoccupied much of the writing of the 1960's and 70's. In 1967 at the annual NEA convention, the NEA officially "supported the use of strikes where the alternatives fail" (Woodworth and Peterson, p. 342).

It is interesting to note how frequently some authorities appear in print over the decades since the 1960's. One such reappearing expert is Dr. Myron Lieberman who has covered a wide-range of opinions about teacher unionism. In his early work, in

fact his early career, "Mike" Lieberman was an AFT activist who ran for president of that organization. His position has changed from that of being a high profile union activist and apologist to being a critic of teacher unionism. In some of his more recent treatises, he advocates vouchers and choice and now negotiates on the side of school boards. As a student at the University of Pennsylvania, I had the good fortune to audit Lieberman's course in 1989. It was here that I heard him as he discussed his odyssey and shifts of opinions. In an interesting monograph *Teacher Bargaining Reconsidered: Eggs That I Have Laid*, Lieberman discusses his change from strong advocacy of teacher organizations having the union rights of the private sector to a position of believing that teacher organizations should have their representational rights considerably reduced. When one looks at the 1967 text edited by Liebermann, Elam, and Moskow *Readings on Collective Negotiations in Public Education*, one finds advice for and discussion of this then very new labor phenomenon.

In other texts of the 1960's one can find "how-to" advice in regard to teacher union actions. In *The Collective Dilemma: Negotiations in Education*, two professors of educational administration (Patrick Carlton and Harold Goodwin) gather a compendium of strategies and techniques to be used as "an invaluable text for teachers, administrators, and boards of education" (jacket flap).

Our purpose, then is to present a comprehensive understanding of the issues, the problems, and the significance of teacher militancy and collective negotiation to those who will actively engage in or pursue the study of this revolutionary development in education. (Authors' Preface, p. vi)

Moving forward to the next decade and looking at a 1979 text, one finds in

Grimshaw's *Union Rule in the Schools* a study of the effect of the union on the Chicago School System. When coupled with Peterson's *School Politics Chicago Style* (1981), one can view the tangled web of teacher unionism and the political intrigue of city politics in an amazing case-study of a large urban school system. A journal of the field, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, publishes articles about teacher unions including Perry's October, 1979 "Teacher Bargaining: the Experience in Nine Systems" which revisits some districts that had been studied ten years before when they had first entered labor negotiations with teachers. One can safely assert that since the early 1960's the field of labor relations has embraced an academic discipline in regard to teacher unionism that has resulted in a body of professorial authorities and departments in universities where this study is legitimate.

In this review of literature about teacher unions and state level involvement, one continues through four decades of materials in which one finds texts, articles, journals, and symposia reports which deal with the changing nature of teacher unionism as a force in educational policy-making. In the last twelve years, since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, one finds the discussion of teacher organization lobbying at the state and national levels as well as the discussion of the major teacher unions' involvement either for good or ill in the educational reform movement waves. By various counts, we are either in the second, third, or fourth such wave since 1983. The first wave was precipitated by *A Nation at Risk* and set about creating national standards; the second wave in reaction to this top-down emphasis looks at teacher empowerment issues and site-based reforms; waves three and four are variations of the

two previous waves. The term *wave* was most likely derived from the imagery of *A Nation At Risk* in talking about a "rising tide of mediocrity" (p. 5).

At a Symposium held in January 1984 and recorded for posterity in the journal *Government Union Review* (Winter, 1984), nine panelists essentially agreed that reform is difficult if not impossible because of teacher unions. Once again we hear from Dr. Myron Lieberman who summarizes the major point of view when he says (pp. 54-75)

There will be no educational reform, and education will get worse for three reasons:

1. Collective bargaining
2. Too much to expect K-12 reform without reform in higher education
3. Government structure of education (p. 1)

Like Lieberman, the whole field has opposing views on teacher unions as supporters of reform. While Lieberman embodies this oppositional discussion in one lifetime, others have taken sides or tried to be in the middle of the spectrum.

For instance, Susan Moore Johnson starts her 1984 book, *Teacher Unions in Schools* claiming to be neutral:

I came to this research as a defender of neither labor nor management, but with a commitment to good schools....I knew that I would not settle the ongoing controversy with this research, but believed that I might at least complicate the debate....Citizens want to know what collective bargaining is doing to their schools. Practitioners want to know how to make collective bargaining work or, at least, how to work with collective bargaining. Policymakers want to know how legislative action might change the impact of teacher unionism. Policy analysts want to understand how collective bargaining, as one of a number of educational policies, works. Therefore, with these varied interests in mind, I set out to determine the extent to which unions and contracts have affected school practices, to characterize the nature of those effects, and to try to account for different outcomes in different places. (p. 4)

As one reads her focus statement, one sees that she, too, wrestles with the interesting problems of reforming schools with unions and union contracts. Hers is a very thorough discussion of post-*A Nation at Risk* status of unions in schools. In part, she concludes, that educational labor relations should not apply wholesale standardized practices to all schools, but rather that we should look at individual circumstances and recognize that implementation of reform takes time. We should not ask "What went wrong?" but "What went right?" when we assess the implementation of reforms. (p. 172).

Continuing in this same vein, Doherty and Lipsky in *The Education Reform Movement and the Realities of Collective Bargaining* (1988) discuss the opposite wings of reform by stating:

One wing of the reform movement believes collective bargaining is an obstacle to change and maintains collective bargaining is one reason the schools are in bad shape. But another wing holds that collective bargaining can and must be used as the vehicle of change in our schools. (p. 52)

They conclude with a statement of optimism:

We are, however, optimistic. The source of that optimism is the way in which some local teacher unions, with some encouragement of national levels, have embraced the reform movement. Several cherished union beliefs and practices that seem to frustrate reform proposals are giving way to more professional concerns. We believe that to be an important first step. (p. 58)

In a 1988 National Bureau of Economic Research release entitled *When Public Sector Workers Unionize*, (Freeman and Ichniowski) a chapter is devoted to *Unionism and Licensing of Public School Teachers: Impact on Wages and Educational Output* in which the chapter authors ask the question "Is educational performance better or worse

in states with stronger teacher unionization and/or licensing than in other states?"

Analyzing data collected on graduation rates, SAT scores, and ACT scores, the authors, Petrie and Kleiner, conclude:

In sum, the general impression from the table [Table 11.3 *Coefficients and Standard Errors for the Cross-Section Impact of Unionism and Licensing on Student Achievement Scores and Graduation Rates*] is that unionism is associated with better performance of the school system, but varies with the measure of union strength and outcome. (p. 313)

More on this same premise can be found in 1988 in *The Journal of Labor Research* where a debate is waged between Professor Michael Kurth (of McNeese State University, Louisiana) and two associates of the AFT (F. Howard Nelson and Jewell Gould). In dueling articles that span two editions of this journal, refutation and rebuttals are exchanged over the topic "Teachers' Unions and Excellence in Education". Kurth's supposition is that teacher unions impact student achievement adversely, citing a negative correlation of SAT scores in states with high levels of collective bargaining. The rejoinder from the AFT associates is to demonstrate a positive correlation from the same data, proving once more that statistics tell the story that is desired.

Teacher preparation and licensing is discussed in many places. Linda Darling-Hammond and Barnett Berry prepared a Rand study in 1988 entitled *The Evolution of Teacher Policy* in which they claim that over 1000 pieces of state enacted legislation took place between 1983 and 1988 in response to *A Nation at Risk*. These legislative initiatives are intended to reform teacher education, certification, and compensation (p. v)

But teachers and their representatives are becoming more vocal and engaged in the process of shaping the reform agenda....The NEA and AFT are working to define professional roles for teachers, both through collective bargaining agreements at the local level and through efforts to promote policy changes. (p. 7)

In a quotation from Tom Green, Darling-Hammond and Berry capture a fascinating premise for this dissertation:

Public policy is a crude instrument for securing social ideals. We would not use a drop-forged pound of butter or an axe to perform heart surgery. Public policy is the drop-forged or the axe of social change. It is not the knife or scalpel. That is to say, public policy deals with gross values. It deals with the common good, not my good in particular or my neighbor's or the good of us both together....Minimizing evil is a proper aim of public policy. Maximizing good is probably not. The latter assumes that we may shape the axe into a scalpel. (pp 74-75)

One should not fail to review points on the extreme. Samuel Blumenfeld in *N*E*A* Trojan Horse in American Education* writes a scathing and seemingly biased treatise that incorporates such comments as:

The NEA wants to control you because you pay their salaries. And the only way to control you is to control the political-legislative machinery that will force you to do their bidding. (p. xiii)

and he continues:

The plain, unvarnished truth is that public education is a shoddy, fraudulent piece of goods sold to the public at an astronomical price. It's time that the American consumer knew the extent of the fraud which is victimizing children each year. (p. xiv)

One need only to read through some of the chapter headings much less the chapters to see where Blumenfeld feels we are headed as long as the NEA is in power:

- 5 *Turning Children into Animals*
- 6 *The Education Mafia*
- 8 *NEA: Ministry of Education or Labor Union?*

- 9 *The Biggest Lobby in Washington*
- 10 *The Road to Academic Disaster*
- 12 *The NEA Helps Promote Functional Illiteracy*
- 13 *The Soviet Connection*
- 16 *NEA-PAC: Political Octopus in the Making*
- 18 *Toward educational Dictatorship*

One must be aware of the extremes of view held in this country regarding teacher unionism. Samuel Blumenfeld holds one end of that spectrum that must be known as one interviews actors in the policy realm.

The literature thus far discussed has provided much needed background as this researcher set forth to investigate the three state affiliates of the NEA and their involvement in the current educational reform movement.

2. Political and Organizational Theories to understand state educational reforms:

Wirt and Kirst mesh two worlds together in a thought-provoking treatise on the political process in American education. Dispelling the myth that what educators do is apolitical, the two authors present proof through analysis of the politicized nature of education. The particular edition used was a revision of their original work which incorporates policy probes up to and including the Reagan administration. Recognizing that ours is a time of turbulence which manifests in our institutions (especially schools), they search for the forces that engender the disturbances. They find them in the subsystems of our society in economics, demographics, and political activities.

The analytical approach selected by the pair is that of systems analysis; in fact, they use an heuristic theory approach that separates and categorizes items in experience. Calling this heuristic "A Simplified Model of a Political System," they

proceed to analyze components which include *environments, demands, support, decisions and actions, and inputs/outputs*. By listing and discussing each of the foregoing in relationship to public education, they demonstrate how what happens in the world of schooling is indeed political. Further citing that a political response is one which decides "Who gets what, when, and how" which is Laswell's classic definition of politics, they show that school authorities and systems must make such decisions. "The gap between human wants and available resources is a powerful generator of social and political conflict in all times and places." (p. 30) Since schools are asked to allocate resources and promulgate values, they are political entities. Extensive coverage is given to political socialization as well as political conflict. The socialization process involves teachers both as givers and receivers, and it is here that there is applicability to the study at hand. (*Schools in Conflict*, 1982)

Gareth Morgan, a professor who for the most part teaches organization theory to MBA students, has created a trilogy of useful books for that purpose. The central book is the one to be discussed here primarily, but the other two (*Creative Organization Theory, A Resourcebook* [COT] and the accompanying instructor's manual entitled *Teaching Organization Theory* [TOT]) will be woven into this review where they are useful to the discussion at hand. Morgan sets forth the basic premise of his work as follows:

The basic premise on which the book builds is that our theories and explanations of organizational life are based on metaphors that lead us to see and understand organizations in distinctive yet partial ways. Metaphor is often just regarded as a device for embellishing discourse, but its significance is much greater than this. For the use of metaphor implies *a way of thinking* and *a way of seeing* that pervade how we

understand our world generally. For example, research in a wide variety of fields has demonstrated that metaphor exerts a formative influence on science, on our language and on how we think, as well as on how we express ourselves on a day-to-day basis. (Morgan, pp 12,13)

Having set this up, he then describes and uses eight controlling metaphors as chapter headings. Organizations are seen as: machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psychic prisons, flux and transformation, and instruments of domination. Morgan himself describes the design of the book as "about metaphor set within a metaphor: that of 'reading organization'." (p. 345) He acknowledges that he is using the four tropes of Aristotle's *Poetics* interchangeably and does not worry about the distinctions or subtleties of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony preferring "to embrace the general process of image crossing whereby A is seen as B" as the definition of his term "metaphor". (p. 346)

In the Introduction (pp 11-17) Morgan says he has three ways in which he wants readers of the book to explore and develop the "art of reading and understanding organizations."

1. By showing that many conventional ideas about organizations and management are built on "a small number of taken-for-granted images, especially mechanical and biological ones;
2. By exploring some additional images to create new ways of thinking about organizations;
3. To show how to use these as tools for analysis and design of organizations. (Introduction, p. 12)

Several times during the course of the book, he alludes to the notion that we tend to use over-simplifications to think about complex issues. His attempt is, therefore, to get us to think more deeply, critically, and richly about organizations which are complex

entities. If as Noam Chomsky suggests, "Language is the articulation of culture" and ours is a culture based on organizations of all sorts, then Morgan's analysis should prove to be illuminating. By selecting some of these controlling metaphors, one can analyze the responses one gets from various interviewees.

These books are among many others that inform this study. Elazar has been discussed in an earlier portion of this paper as the source for a framework for selection of sites. As suggested earlier, field study research necessitates an open-ended seeking of the framing questions, and books provide one source for those questions to be formulated.

CHAPTER 4

Findings in the Field

The over-all question of this study was posed as "What are the involvements and/or impacts of the National Education Association's affiliate groups in or on the legislated current reform policy decisions in three states?" This chapter addresses the first seven of the eight framing concerns subsumed in that larger question that were originally posed (pages 15-16). Numerous on-site interviews were conducted with major stakeholders in each of four locations: Washington, DC; Columbia, South Carolina; Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota; and a variety of Pennsylvania locations. From these free-ranging and open-ended discussions, commentary was extrapolated to provide a condensation of the viewpoints and perceptions of stakeholder representatives. These data are found in *Appendices 4: Interviews; 5: Definition and Impetus of Reform; 6: Involvement of Education Association; and 7: Reforms and Evaluations*. In the first document, a list of the informants from the states and at the national level gives identifying information about each person and an anecdotal recounting of some of the circumstances of the interviews. When these informants are quoted for supporting commentaries in this paper, they are variously cited. Sometimes only their job classification is used; other times a name is attached to their comments. Full disclosure of who said what is found in the *Appendices* so that the reader can always find out who is the source of what comments. (Note that full citations for quotations from each informant can be found in the *Appendices* beginning on page 135 of this document.) One can infer and/or anticipate viewpoints, attitudes about, or

perceptions of reform and the teachers' unions from some of these notes. The next three appendices recount direct quotations about the five areas of concern that were extracted from the longer interview tapes, notes, and/or transcriptions. Most people responded to the question during their interview that allowed them to define educational reform and the impetus for reform at the state or national level; most also expressed definite and clear assessments of the state affiliate Education Association's involvement in the reforms; finally, most interviews exposed an understanding of some of the reforms as seen by the individual informant and his or her evaluations of the effectiveness of those reforms. These materials are woven into the analyses.

Framing Question 1. What are or have been the major legislatively initiated educational reforms in the three states since 1983?

Answering this, state-by-state, reflects the core differences in state political cultural, degree of reform, and general notion of what reform entails in a particular locale. While other kinds of changes in the educational systems of each of the studied states have taken place at individual school sites, districts, or even whole states through state departments of education regulation and mandates, pilot projects initiated by various sources, state boards of education's directives, or innovative educational practices promulgated through staff development efforts; the concern here is with statewide, legislated educational reforms. In both South Carolina and Minnesota the governors brought about comprehensive "educational reform legislation"; in Pennsylvania efforts to that end were made but not accomplished on the scale of the

other two by December, 1995.

To ascertain the informants' definitions of reform and the reform movement, most were given opportunities to discuss what they believe those to be. To get concurrence on the meaning of a popular term does not seem an easy task. While denotations can be garnered from a dictionary, connotations do not generate agreement as readily. As will be noted in the *Appendix 5* (pages 144-158), more than thirty people had somewhat different ideas to present. In some instances, speakers used the reform of their locales as the basis for definition while others gave a more generic assessment. At least some Minnesotans and South Carolinians designated reform as the specific legislated acts in their own states. Three of the interviewees could not separate the impetus from the definition, and discussed reform in terms of world-class competitiveness and economic well-being. The greatest number of definers talked about reform as change, improvement, raising expectations, and creating higher standards. In fact, 20 people stated some variation on these themes. A handful of people preferred to use the term *restructuring*. At least one favored *transformation* instead of *reformation*. Most discussants seemed favorably disposed to the idea that the reform movement is needed, and is more than a brief aberration on our timeline. A few, however, doubted that reform is actually occurring. As one of the principals who I interviewed put it

[Reform is the] same cyclical thing over the 20th century. Every couple of decades we decide we aren't doing a very good job and we need to do something about it....Then we look at not very new ideas and we recycle them.

I will return to the definitional discussion in the concluding chapter. For now, having

established some common grounds, we can look at the framing concerns in each state.

EIA of South Carolina

Recalling that Elazar has characterized South Carolina as *traditionalistic* where "New programs are initiated if the program serves the interest of the governing elite..." (Elazar, p. 124) look at the anatomy of the enactment of the "Education Improvement Act of 1984" commonly called EIA. Almost immediately after the passage of this large package of bills, Governor Richard Riley's administration published a document entitled *The New Approach to Educational and Economic Excellence in South Carolina* (1984). This gold and ivory publication bearing the seal of the Governor and festooned with gold stars, publicized the EIA. A portion of the introductory statement by Riley will provide a sense of what he believed or wanted the community to know had been accomplished:

On January 11, 1984, in my State of the State address, I asked the General Assembly - and all South Carolinians - to decide our course for the exciting and challenging years ahead. Their response was support and passage of the Educational Improvement Act of 1984 - the "New Approach" - an educational reform plan that makes our people and their betterment the top priority in South Carolina.

The New Approach is the single most comprehensive educational reform measure in the history of our state. And, I am proud to say, it has also been judged as the "most comprehensive single piece of (education) legislation" in the nation by a consultant for the Education Commission of the States. (Note that full citations for quotations from each informant can be found in the *Appendices* beginning on page 135 of this document.)

One of the major architects of the EIA was an advisor to Governor Riley, Dr. Terry Peterson. Both men have been interviewed for this paper and are quoted several times

from their direct conversations with me and from publications of their work. Peterson has given many talks, papers, articles, and reports about the EIA and does so to this day. He provided me with charts and graphs that he has been compiling on EIA's success when I visited with him for our second interview in March 1995 in Washington, D.C. where he is again an advisor/assistant to Richard Riley who is now our national Secretary of Education. In a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association in New Orleans in April of 1988, Peterson described "Building, Passing, Implementing and Assessing Educational Reform in South Carolina". In a section of that paper he explained the content of EIA this way:

The South Carolina Education Improvement Act has sixty-one new or expanded initiatives designed to affect all types of students in all grades (from at-risk students to gifted and talented), all members of the educational community, and the broad school community (parents and business).

A number of the initiatives were based on the latest research on effective schools and classrooms. The eight sections of the Act deal with:

1. Raising student performance by increasing academic standards;
2. Strengthening the teaching and testing of the basic skills;
3. Elevating the teaching profession;
4. Improving leadership, management, and fiscal efficiency;
5. Implementing quality controls and rewarding productivity;
6. Creating more effective partnerships among schools, parents, community, and business;
7. Providing school buildings conducive to improve student learning; and
8. Providing financial support needed to improve schools (pages 5 and 6)

A few paragraphs from a "Special Summary" published by the South Carolina Department of Education's Office of Public Information captures the major elements of EIA:

The EIA of 1984 is South Carolina's blueprint for enacting a quality program of public instruction for current and future generations.

A 1-cent state sales tax [the Penny] increase will provide an additional \$217 million to educate the state's 610,000 students beginning in the 1984-85 school year.

As approved by the state General Assembly in June, 1984, the act will provide \$217,265,860 to implement provisions to improve public education. About \$19 million of that amount will go toward increasing academic standards through such programs as increased graduation requirements, a 5-year old kindergarten program, advanced placement programs, modern vocational equipment, handicapped student services, and expanded gifted and talented programs.

About \$63 million will be spent on basic skills programs, including \$60.5 million for compensatory/remedial instruction. A high school exit exam will be funded under this section.

Programs affecting the teaching profession are funded at \$74.9 million, with about \$60 million of this amount being spent to raise the average state teacher salary to the Southeastern average. This area will also include student loans for teachers, teacher training programs, and a teacher incentive program.

Programs pertaining to administrative leadership and management are funded at \$3 million. This funding includes monies for a principal incentive pay program, evaluation of school administrators, in-service seminars for administrators and administrators apprenticeship programs.

Quality control and productivity programs, including incentive grants for school improvement, innovative program grants, school improvement councils and annual school improvement reports are funded at \$455,000.

The school building aid program is funded at about \$55.7 million.

Supportive activities for implementing the entire act's provisions are funded at \$529,926. (Peterson, 1988, AERA report, Appendix B)

The public relations efforts as well as the content of the EIA were skillfully designed. For at least four years following EIA passage, an annual report called *What the Penny Buys* was released by the South Carolina Department of Education. During my first visit to South Carolina almost every informant talked about EIA as a major reform of their state. A few informants did allude to other earlier reforms such as the Education Finance Act that had been put in place earlier by the legislature, but this act

was only discussed by those particularly interested in state finances. During 1988 when the EIA was still relatively new, having been passed five years before, it came up as what reform meant in South Carolina frequently. The president of one state association talked of EIA as *the* reform; the chairman of the Legislative Oversight of EIA Committee did as well; as did Terry Peterson and Governor Riley who had been the men behind this move.

In our conversation in 1988, Riley explained how a coalition had been built on the basis of two standing committees. He described them to me as he analyzed how he had mounted his campaign for educational reform:

One committee was called the Business Education Partnership [the 'Big' committee]...the other committee was the technical committee, they ...worked on the education plans.

The "Big" committee had business and education leaders as members. Riley, Charlie Williams (the South Carolina State Superintendent), and the committees worked for a year to create and then win support for EIA and the penny of dedicated sales tax that it would take to support it. A campaign was mounted that included seven forums throughout the state that were attended by a wide variety of citizens and ranged in size from 1500 to 3400 people. As Riley described these events, they were "...a two-day thing" with Riley, his wife, Charlie Williams, and the lieutenant governor

[who would all] speak to Rotary Clubs, Boy Scout meetings, firemen's meetings [and many other groups]....We had road signs, we had radio ads, we had bumper stickers. Our slogan on the bumper sticker was 'A Penny for Their Thoughts' with "their" underlined meaning the children...we were trying to involve as many people as we could in the effort.

They held hour-long town meetings having generated the crowd by the afore-

mentioned means:

Then after the hour-long meeting, when we would really get people enthusiastic about what we were going to do and we've all got to work together and business and teachers all working side by side, then we would break down into groups of 25 to 35 people....If you figure 3,500 people, that's an awful lot of rooms of people. So, then we had trained leaders in those groups and they would hand out the forms with the goals for people to fill out in what they thought we ought to do to reach this goal or that goal or they just disagreed with it. Before the next morning all that was computerized...and then we would announce to the public what the Charleston [or other six] public forum had said. It was the people expressing themselves and they were involved....Real town meeting but using high tech to do it...the whole thing was positive.

He went on to describe further that once the package had been put together "...we went into it just like a political campaign, buttons and bumper stickers and TV ads and the whole thing." He had worked hard to get buy-in even before the bills were brought up in the legislature because it was important to the citizens of South Carolina that "...it was their program; it wasn't Dick Riley's program that was put on them."

No matter who was interviewed or when the interview took place, for the most part South Carolina informants talked about EIA as the reform of their state education. Even the new administration of the Department of Education alluded to it in 1995 although they have moved on to other initiatives. EIA is discussed further in several other framing questions. Suffice it to say, that this is the act that won the national recognition for South Carolina as a reform state.

Minnesota's Access to Excellence

Since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, most states have initiated education reforms such as increased curriculum requirements, student testing, teacher testing, and state takeovers of deficient schools.

While these reforms may improve the quality of schools, they do little to adapt the structure of schools to the needs of students. Successful reform must fit the school to the student.

In 1985, I proposed Access to Excellence, an education reform package giving parents the right to select the schools their children attend. For the first time in this country, parents and students as consumers of public education became statewide public policy. For the first time in public education, parents were given a substantive role in education.

Rudy Perpich, Former Minnesota Governor (Randall and Geiger, 1991, *School Choice Issues and Answers*, Forward)

Governor Perpich, like his counterpart in South Carolina, was committed to improving education in his state. Elazar categorizes Minnesota as *moralistic*. In such states, Elazar says that government is viewed as a "commonwealth (means to achieve the good community through positive action)" and new programs "will initiate without public pressure if believed to be in public interest." Politics in these states is viewed as "healthy" and party cohesiveness "subordinate to principles and issues"(p. 124). The story is that Perpich holds teachers in such high regard that he kept a list of his favorites in his desk drawer in the Governor's offices. (Told to me by Loni Kawamura, Dan Loritz, and Ruth Randall in separate interviews.) Perpich attributes much of his success to the schooling he, as a poor miner's son with limited English, was able to get. The other story that was repeated to me more than once was that when Perpich moved his family to Minneapolis/St. Paul from Hibbing in the iron ranges of northern Minnesota and entered his two children into public school, he discovered that they were ahead of their classmates. When he tried to enroll them into another school, he was informed that was not allowed. When he became governor, he remembered that experience and provided a way that other families would be able to have the choice

his had not.

With his belief that education needed to be improved and in the context of *A Nation at Risk* and Minnesota's culture of the "common weal", he put forth his "Access to Excellence" program. The venue he selected for his presentation was a speech to the Citizens League in Minneapolis in January, 1985. He set forth his legislative package in front of this group of influential citizens.

With the value of education so deeply imbedded in both his head and his heart, the Governor wanted other parents and their children to have the best possible opportunities for learning. (Randall and Geiger, 1991, p. 147)

According to Loni Kawamura, who was Perpich's education advisor at the time, his speech laid out an eight-point program. As she discussed this speech with me, she mused:

Now the final question in my opinion is "Was this the best strategy?" Try the whole thing all at once, lose bits and pieces of it and then regain part of it over the years. I've thought long and hard about this because as glorious as it was to do this, rarely do you have the chance to work on as radical a policy as this was and to have it blazoned all over the newspapers and have people talk about it and have the governor's undying support for this....You can not make a change in as big an elephant as public education without proposing something dramatic, then pulling back and providing leadership in negotiating out something that all sides can live with eventually.

Among the eight points was one that seemed to catch interest in the audience and the press. This was his proposal of public school choice. Other points in the "Access to Excellence Plan" include the state's responsibility to finance education, authorization for outcomes and standards, authorization for three grade levels of testing, model programs in various disciplines, a review of mandates, an increase in staff and

program development funds, and a district improvement plan. (Randall and Geiger, p. 151)

When the question is raised about the genesis of choice and the Governor is given credit, it is not often discussed that choice was only one part of a comprehensive plan which he espoused. Some critics say choice is not a panacea, others say a single reform such as choice will not bring about the change needed in the educational system. Those people have not heard or listened to all of the points in the Access to Excellence Plan nor are they aware of the wide range of public policy which was designed, developed, and implemented in the State of Minnesota in addition to the choice policies. (Randall and Geiger, p. 152)

Unlike Riley in South Carolina, Perpich did not establish his committee structure before going to the legislature. In fact, in choosing the forum of the Citizens League, he seemed at first to have bypassed the educational establishment. "Leaders of education organizations were angry because they had not been briefed prior to the speech." (Randall and Geiger, p. 172). In actuality, there were three options that became operative in Minnesota as a result of Perpich's initiative. In 1985, a postsecondary options enrollment act was passed. High school graduation laws (i.e. standards) were passed in 1987. The open enrollment law passed in 1987 and was phased in over a period of four years.

In 1987 and 1988 an open enrollment was voluntary for all districts, in 1989 all districts with 1000 or more students had to participate, and in 1990 all districts in the state were required to participate. (Randall and Geiger, p. 95).

During the first two years of open enrollment only a few hundred students selected this option. By 1995 approximately 6,000 statewide were participating out of an estimated 460,000 public school students. (Figures provided by Minnesota Department

of Education.)

It took more than one legislative session for Perpich to get the bulk of his choice options enacted into law. The three major components are the ones that have given Minnesota its reputation in the firmament of reform. All of his programs were restricted to public school students. The postsecondary option allows eleventh and twelfth graders to take college courses for credit towards high school and college. The graduation option provides alternative schooling for students at risk of not completing high school. The open enrollment plan allows most students who want to, to select any public school if space and desegregation needs allow.

The Minnesota legislature was enmeshed in the annual "Omnibus Education Funding" Bill in the spring of 1995 when I returned. In the intervening years since my first visit in 1988, Perpich's plans have become institutionalized. By now some 6,000 students throughout the state use the open enrollment policy. There are a few pilot "Charter" schools that are public school options.

Pennsylvania Reforms

There is no comparable package of legislated reforms in Pennsylvania that matches the enormity of either South Carolina's EIA or Minnesota's Access to Excellence. Although the curricular changes mandated by the state regulations may result in a huge impact on education as delivered in Pennsylvania, they are not actually legislated reforms. In fact, while individual bills can be found over the last dozen years that address such issues as school finance, retirement, or union options

such as "fair share" dues payment or collective bargaining issues, it is precisely the lack of a major set of legislative bills that has contributed to Pennsylvania being the third state to investigate. Recalling that Pennsylvania is the *individualistic* state among the sample used where public policy is initiated through marketplace public opinion, may shed some light on this. Over these years, "choice" where parents could select schools for their children from among public or private schools was proposed and defeated in 1992; vouchers, again where the market place and competition would drive where students went to school, have been proposed and defeated as of June, 1995 and are and were likely to come up again in the current Governor's tenure since he has committed himself to them as a cornerstone to his educational reforms. During the course of my interviews and informal discussions with Pennsylvania educational leaders, I have found no-one who has been able to label a major reform of education here as legislatively enacted. Individuals have been able to articulate some reforms, but mostly have seen them as either very localized or as initiated and/or mandated through the executive branch (either from the State Board of Education or from the Department of Education). Minnesota's Perpich has suggested that state takeovers of "deficient schools" resulted from the publication of *A Nation at Risk*. (See quotation on p. 57.) Pennsylvania already had such legislation on the books in the form of Volume 24, Section 6-695 of the Pennsylvania Public School Code of 1949 with the unique aspect that the takeovers are for fiscal insolvency instead of educational deficiency. In the past four years that act has been exercised in three of the 501 Pennsylvania school districts. While one of the "take-overs" is the lowest performing

district in the state according to state-wide statistics including test scores, attendance and drop-out rates; the trigger for appointing a "control board" was the financial difficulty of this district not its poor academic performance. The other two districts are not academically deficient. One can conclude then, that the state take-over provision has not been widely used nor has it resulted in "reform" of educationally deficient districts.

In the most recent Pennsylvania interviews held in 1995, a former Secretary of Education, Thomas Gilhool; a field representative on the PSEA staff; a former PSEA president; the current PSEA president; and a Pennsylvania State representative concurred that there have been few legislatively passed reforms that actually impact on education in this state. Gilhool, who was Secretary of Education under Governor Robert Casey from January, 1987 to June, 1989, confirmed that as of the baseline year of this study (1988), educational reforms had come through the Department of Education. In response to my assertion that Pennsylvania does not have a comparable legislated reform to that of South Carolina or Minnesota, he said:

Your observation is right. It is unchallengeable [that we do not legislate educational reform in Pennsylvania.] The fabric of school law in Pennsylvania has not changed in any significant way since 1911...and a little in 1949 [Pennsylvania School Code dates]....For us [in Pennsylvania] there is enough in the statutes already. For us [Gilhool and Casey] most of our early strategies to make things happen were...administrative, executive branch....We had a set of statutes ready to go, but then I left.

The field representative from PSEA to whom I spoke alluded to several defeated pieces of legislation that purported to be reform. While he enumerated Act 88 (a replacement of the original collective bargaining Act 195) and some other legislation,

he concluded that nothing in the twelve years that we were discussing had been a major legislatively-enacted reform that "actually improved schools for learning." The most recent attempt to legislate reform through Governor Ridge's voucher plan ("K.I.D.S. I" - Keystone Initiative for a Difference in our Schools) in the spring of 1995, the PSEA interviewee dubbed as "phony reform" that would not have really improved education. It was his assertion that the "K.I.D.S. II" plan that Ridge and his staff were working on at the time of our interview would reappear at the Pennsylvania Legislature before the final days of 1995. Indeed, Ridge published "K.I.D.S. II" in the very next week after my conversation with Field Director Atkiss. "K.I.D.S. I" was defeated by a margin of some six votes, and Ridge is making some concessions in his plan in order to get those votes. A monthly publication of the Department of Education entitled *Pennsylvania Education* which is distributed throughout the state reproduced a speech in the October 1995 issue which was given by Secretary of Education Eugene Hickok to the Allegheny Institute. An excerpt follows:

Pennsylvanians are engaged in one of the most important discussions they've faced in recent years: how to achieve true education reform....And, as this debate is rekindled this fall, I expect to hear more and more from key stakeholders in our education system: business and community leaders....these are the people who can not afford to be satisfied with the status quo....As many observers have pointed out, we live in a time when many of our institutions, including business, churches and government, are working to meet the challenge of change. Yet the one institution that I believe is the most critical to be constantly on the cutting-edge -- education -- seems resistant, if not impervious, to change. Gov. Ridge's school reform program will succeed because it is rooted in the fundamental principles that have made our democracy and our economy examples that the world strives to emulate. Freedom. Choices. Incentives to achieve.

In order to gain the political advantage and the necessary votes for passage, "K.I.D.S.

II" includes some proposals that are more palatable to former opposition members. It now has components that include mandate relief, tenure reform, charter public schools that School Boards will have say about, public-to-public school choice, educational opportunity grant pilot program (which will give money or vouchers to poor students in heavily populated geographic areas of the state), and a distance learning task force. The Pennsylvania School Boards Association (PSBA) has come out in favor of most of this plan because they like the mandate relief, the tenure and sabbatical reform, the involvement in Charter school decisions, and some aspects of the choice provision. They are still opposed to the voucher provision, but they believe that it will not hold up in court because of constitutional defects. Thus Ridge may have succeeded in chipping away at some of the opposition and helped to weaken the *Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers* of which PSBA was a member and which is explained more fully on page 81.

In all three states under review, confirmation of political culture seems to have been found in regard to educational reform. With the change in the national political climate which took place as exemplified in the Congressional elections of 1994, and which was reflected in each of the states studied on the respective state levels, a new assessment will need to be made in the next few years of where the legislative reforms are and have gone.

Framing Question 2: What has Caused the Reforms?

In a seminar at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in 1990 entitled

"Educational Restructuring and Reform for the 21st Century," the class interviewed over forty experts on restructuring and devised a list of attributes that were common to all of the "strategies for change" that include the following:

- Change Strategy 1: Leader who is a risk-taker.
- Change Strategy 2: Creates or sees an idea.
- Change Strategy 3: Communicates with others about the idea.
- Change Strategy 4: Develops a vision of "what can be done" with others who are interested.
- Change Strategy 5: Determines a mission or reason "why action should be taken. (Randall and Geiger, 1991, p. 171)

The particular changes here were interesting for this paper because the students were looking at the same arena.

As interviews were conducted throughout this study, respondents were asked about the impetus for the reform movement and the reforms in their respective bailiwicks. Selected quotations may be found in *Appendix 5* that reveal some of the assertions about what caused the reforms to happen in the column titled *Impetus*. In most instances it should be noted that a person or leader who was a "risk-taker" was credited with the start of the reforms. Economic factors and the need to compete globally were often cited as reasons the reforms were needed. Invariably, however, if reforms were seen to be occurring in a particular locale, the attribution was often to the Governor. The nature of the responses may have been caused by my questions, but I did not want to limit the responses by guiding them too narrowly. It seemed to me that the open-endedness elicited a wide variety of answers and gave me the opportunity to acquire a full range of what people mean by reform and impetus for reform. The governor was coupled with committees, groups or coalitions of interested

citizens (stakeholders), state chief education officers, legislative leaders, or educational organization leadership including unions as the sources of allies. In some instances members of the above-mentioned groups would designate themselves as the impetus for change. This matches well with the findings of that University of Nebraska class.

Of interest also are the reasons that the current reform movement is seen to have lasted for a dozen years if dated from *A Nation at Risk's* publication. Several interviews stressed that reforms have happened in other times, but that this particular movement has been propelled by economic or business interests. Former Pennsylvania Secretary of Education, Thomas Gilhool may have been as clear as anyone in saying that:

There are two constant constituencies for change in the schools: one is the CEO's of major American companies, and the other are the governors.

He ruminated about why CEO's would have a vested interest in improving public education and concluded that they had more than the status of the work force at heart. He suggested that they were often working-class people who had risen and therefore appreciated the need for better education. Governors, on the other hand, he asserted have a limited stay in office (usually no more than two terms) and education is something that they can see can be impacted by them in order that they leave their marks for posterity. Professor Mike Young of Penn State University suggested to me that governors may wish to break into the national scene, and educational reform may look like a way of building their vitae.

Even on the national level, while many people noted that *A Nation At Risk*

seems to have been an impetus for much reform, several talked about either Secretary Terrence Bell as its originator or gave credit to President Reagan. A few informants were sure that *A Nation At Risk* was not really the beginning of our current movement. Some thought that the movement had begun much earlier, but others were not convinced that much has actually happened that has really changed the nature of public education even since April 1983. As the interviews traversed the specific reforms in particular states or nationwide, several noted that we have made very little progress towards better education for the students of the United States.

Framing Question 3: Is There a National Directive from NEA that Each Affiliate Follows?

The uniform response from every NEA staffer and every state affiliate leader to whom I spoke was a ringing "No!" Many of the state leaders talked about the support that was available from the national organization for any reform issue with which they were dealing, but each assured me that there are no directives from NEA as to how they are to function at the affiliate level. Furthermore, several Education Association informants made certain to tell me that the Delegate Assembly (the annual NEA convention) is the largest democratically-operated conclave of its sort in the world. It is at the Delegate Assembly that the issues that NEA will be pursuing during any given upcoming year, are voted on by representatives from all of the affiliate groups. The 1995 conference was held in Minneapolis and was a site where NEA declared its intentions in regard to reform. The national organization as well as its affiliates have

decided that they will be more proactive in regard to educational reform than they have been. One compelling reason for this public announcement and shift is that as Bob Barkley, the Manager of the Center for Innovation of NEA, put it: "If we're going to be a leader in educational reform we've got to have something to say that's other than 'no'." Barkley went on to say what he believes to be the major commitment of his organization: "NEA is committed to restoring public confidence in public education." Interestingly enough several of the state affiliate leaders echoed those sentiments and explained that they want to help the public to see education more positively. It may also be that NEA is moving to be more like the AFT in its public stance, particularly as they continue to consider a merger of the two largest teacher unions into one entity. So while the NEA operatives assured me that no "directives" are issued from the national organization on how to operationally exist, by the very nature of the process used to decide important issues through the Delegate Assembly, there is at least a national consensus that each state affiliate ought to be proactively involved in "restoring public confidence in public education."

There was uniform agreement that the individual state affiliates make their own stance on issues within their respective states. More than one informant discussed the relationship of state organizations to the national one as "loosely coupled". While a few Education Association officers or executive directors talked about accessing the NEA for materials and ideas through the computer-link or through interaction at national meetings, none felt that they were directed to a particular way of being. The field representative in Pennsylvania went so far as to say that he had joined PSEA's

staff precisely because of the independence and autonomy he finds there.

External critics, on the other hand, still see NEA as a huge juggernaut. One can read former Secretary of Education William Bennett to see that he believed that NEA was calling the plays in an obstructionist way. In both Minnesota and South Carolina, some state legislators who were especially conservative tended to specify NEA as pulling the strings for their local state groups. Top leadership at the state School Boards Association also expressed concern that NEA set the tone of unionism that the state affiliates follow. One can find treatises that tend to express a strong negative viewpoint about the NEA's role in American education. Blumenthal in *N*E*A*: Trojan Horse in American Education* and Alexander in *Who's Ruining Our Schools? The Case Against the NEA Teacher Union* represent one end of the opinion spectrum and make the argument against NEA from a conspiracy theory. Alexander who was a member of the Mobile, Alabama School Board founded an organization called "Save Our Schools" (SOS) which he claims has members throughout the country. SOS is a "...national lobbying organization, which represents taxpayers and parents" according to its own definition. (Alexander, 1988, p. 162)

Alexander founded a national "back to basics" organization called Save Our Schools which has 150,000 supporters in all fifty states. Alexander organized SOS primarily to fight the ever-growing power of the NEA. (Alexander, p. 161)

One only need read excerpts from the table of contents of his book to get the sense of his viewpoint about NEA:

Part 1: NEA Unionization - Effect on Teachers and Schools...NEA:
Pitting Teachers Against Administrators; NEA: Destroying Local
Control...

Part II: Pushing Liberal Dogma in the Classroom...Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament Pushed by NEA...NEA's Foreign Policy...NEA's Policy on Promiscuity and Homosexuality...
Part III: NEA's Political Clout...The NEA: An Army Intent on Rule and Ruin!...NEA's Next Battle: Federalize Education...(Alexander, Table of Contents)

One may conclude that when viewed from inside, NEA does not direct the educational reform agenda of individual affiliate groups. When viewed from the perspectives of some outsiders, NEA is directing their teachers in either a "liberal" onslaught or a unionist approach.

Framing Question 4: Are the NEA Affiliate Groups Constructionists or Obstructionists in Regard to State-Level Reforms?

This question is core to investigations for this paper. It's direct restatement is: "If reform is taking place in their states, are the NEA groups major actors for construction or obstruction, and if the affiliates prove to be significant, is their agreement required for reform to begin and then thrive?" A compilation of views and perceptions on this subject from most of those interviewed can be found in *Appendix 6: Education Association Involvement*. Looking at the pattern of responses reveals that categories of respondents gave some predictable and some surprising answers. In his 1990 book, *The Predictable Failure of Educational Reform: Can We Change Course Before It's Too Late?* Seymour Sarason expresses concern that reform will be defeated by "the existing system" primarily because different parts of the system represent different power dynamics.

...teachers, principals, supervisors, curricular specialists, superintendents, members of boards of education think and perceive in terms of parts and not a complicated system: their parts, their tasks, their problems, their power or lack of it. (p. 24)

While he did not discuss legislatures in this portion of his text, he has articulated the classic story of the elephant and the blind men. Depending on which part of the elephant one feels, one gets a different sense and different part. It is that way with perceptions of the Education Associations' involvements in the various reforms in the three states.

South Carolina

In South Carolina, I was told that the Education Association was vital to the success of the EIA by no less than the governor under whose leadership it passed,

Richard Riley:

There was an absolute mandate on my part that everything we do in this state that deals with education, teachers are going to be on the ground floor and I stuck by that from the very beginning...We did that and that had a lot to do with the ultimate success we had at the other end...We handled that situation in that way, the two major organizations here, of course SCEA is by far the largest. They had strong representation and staff people at all of our meetings and so did the Palmetto Teachers...the SCEA was an active participant in the whole EIA and when it finished, they were celebrating with us across the board because they were involved from the word go...I mean every amendment, everything that came up they were an integral part of it. (Note that full citations for quotations from each informant can be found in the *Appendices* beginning on page 135 of this document.)

Legislators and SCEA officials confirmed that SCEA is a powerful force for reform, yet they are also seen as a "vested interest" who are out to get more money for their members and nothing more by some. The Executive Director of the South Carolina

School Boards told me in 1988:

The SCEA is, with this new leadership particularly [the executive director], really rabid militant...they want everything they can get for teachers and they want credit for getting it. Even if the district or the state wants to give it to them voluntarily, if they get it they want to show somehow that they forced it.

He was echoed by others who explained that what the SCEA wanted and got was the Southeastern salary average. "The Education Association traded off for a big raise in base pay," were Terry Peterson's words. His successor at the Business Partnership EIA Oversight Committee informed me that:

The teachers have not been steadfast defenders of reform and restructuring activities. They have been steadfast defenders of getting paid the Southeast average. Neither association (SCEA or Palmetto) has been major players in encouraging restructuring and reform to get better results.

Yet, when queried about the collaboration of the Educational Association, most told of the coalition of educators and business people who worked together to bring about the reform. Since some 61 of the original 63 provisions of the act passed together as a package, and since more than one informant discussed the ways in which the SCEA leadership participated in swaying votes in the legislature, it would seem that in the instance of South Carolina, the Education Association was instrumental in passing reform legislation. While some still characterized the SCEA as a union, neither the Association nor many of the stakeholders hold them as that. The Executive Director in 1995 in fact told me that: "While our critics will use the term 'union' to diminish our argument...this is not a union. These people are professional to a fault." The perceptions about the category of organization are important because in a "right-to-

work" state such as South Carolina there may have been less reluctance to include the Education Association on the ground floor since they were not seen in the same adversarial way as they may be viewed in more unionized states.

Minnesota

In 1995, Minnesota has an Open Enrollment policy, postsecondary options, graduation options. These are touted as reforms and yet the MEA is not seen by many as significant in gaining these. The Director of the Metropolitan District told me:

Teacher association have tried to have it both ways: I think their credibility now is significantly less than it was at the turn of the decade...They try to take the high road [in favoring reforms for the improvement of education]...When it gets right down to it, when you analyze the behavior in legislative session after legislative session and in bargaining session after bargaining session, what they are really after is more money for the people who are making a living in the system....MEA? That's the teacher union. That's all it is.

"Most of the change here has come despite the union," says a Citizens League executive in Minnesota. His sentiments were echoed by legislators who indicated that MEA was at first in opposition to Open Enrollment. It passed anyway but not in its totality the first go-round. One of the planners of the Access to Excellence proposal stated it this way:

I don't think the teachers' unions would have ever come on board for this [open enrollment]. I mean, in no fashion. We would have had to moderate the proposal down so much in order for it to be acceptable to the teachers' unions or to the school superintendents or to the school boards....It's not whether we do this; it's how we do it.

One legislator in 1995 informed me that:

The MEA and MFT are getting beaten up. My view is they have not

been strong players" [in the reforms]....The number one agenda item for the MEA is their pensions and negotiations for salaries.

Another legislator had this to offer:

They see their goal as obstructionists to change. Remember one thing, MEA does not mean Minnesota Education. They don't care about education. They don't exist for the cause of the betterment of children's education. They exist as a labor bargaining unit...You have to protect the weakest member you have.

On the converse, both of the Commissioners of Education to whom I spoke in Minnesota see the MEA as a positive force. An exchange with Ruth Randall, Commissioner of Education in 1988 went as follows:

Q: What kind of force are the MEA and MFT from your point of view?

A: Very strong. Both of them are very strong; they are a very strong force in the design and development of policy; they are a very strong force in lobbying for policy; they are very strong in the school districts, too.

The 1995 Commissioner, Linda Powell said:

The MEA has been extremely on-board with the graduation standards. They have been very, very helpful...I see the MEA functioning very much as a professional organization, involved in educational policy.

Both women selected other areas than the major Open Enrollment to comment about, but they were positive in their assessments of MEA involvement.

Others focused on the same money issues as did their counterparts in South Carolina. A state senator who was interviewed in 1988 while the open enrollment reform was just really getting underway explained:

We have a task force. It's kind of just random selection; there's 24 members, six legislators (three senators, three house members) and then 18 of the groupies. The groupies are the MEA, the MFT, the School Boards Association and all the people who hang around the meetings all

the time....It's an advisory group to make recommendations to the Commission on Public Education and the Commission actually prepares a report to the legislature..but the groups like MEA and MFT and the School Boards Association always ask for more money. But...very seldom say what they want to use any of the money for and basically what it boils down to in many instances is paying more for the same thing that you got the year before for less.

His successor in 1995 had a slightly different take on the union and its significance to reform:

My belief is that trying to destroy unions would make the transition even more difficult because when people fear change and when people think someone is trying to run them over, they dig in. It is much more productive to work with people who are organized when you are trying to empower them....The teachers union in Minnesota is trying to help....I view labor unions as organizations that people have gathered around in their self-interest to be protective and nurturing and to help them go somewhere....Everybody says the unions in Minnesota are powerful. The power is illusionary. There hasn't been a meaningful strike in about twenty years.

The union leadership offered the same view about their role as did their counterparts in South Carolina and Pennsylvania "Our role is to help create the changes and reforms in a way that will preserve the rights of members," says MEA President Schaubach. She went on to say:

Our role is not to protect bad teachers. We will have to assume a much greater role of policing our own through peer review and mentorship. We can still be a union and still do those things.

The Vice President of MEA echoed similar sentiments in a separate interview and stressed the union's roles:

Right now the fight we are fighting is to get the funding that we need to continue with the same quality. And so most of our efforts in this legislative era have been, to be sure, that we do preserve bargaining rights.

The Executive Director of MEA offered views during both 1988 and 1995 that reinforced the union approach as he sees it:

[On teacher empowerment:] That's why you have to take all of the philosophical statements in this area [teacher empowerment] and temper them with a degree of pragmatism.

[On Open Enrollment] Originally very vigorously opposed by MEA. [It turned out to be a] tempest in a teapot because only 138 students took advantage the first year.

[Our] Organizational goal is to merge with MFT. (1988)

During our second interview, he again talked about the importance of the impending merger with MFT. That merger was a major source of agreement among all of the union leadership to whom I spoke in Minnesota during 1995. Judy Schaubach, MEA President expressed it this way:

[In regard to the merger between MEA and MFT] Given the environment we're in with all the attacks on public education, we have both come to understand that it is not in our best interests to fight one another when we should think about how to preserve public education and how to preserve union rights.

In March, at the MEA annual convention, there was an unanimous vote of 551 to merge with MFT. In April the 300+ MFT members voted unanimously likewise. The unified organization will have approximately 60,000 members. Schaubach continued by saying: "The opposition in the public and in the legislature is nervous because they won't be able to play us off against each other any more." Sandra Peterson, President of the MFT and Louise Sundin, Vice President of AFT and President of Minneapolis FT concurred. Peterson observed in regard to the merger,

It even got a standing ovation [at the MFT convention] which three years ago would not have happened. This was the first year that we did

not have dissent on the floor...

She went on to articulate her view of the unions in regard to reform:

On the reform issues, if they're true reforms, *and they are of our making* [my emphasis], then we are leaders....I see the MFT and the MEA as leaders in the forefront of every piece of meaningful legislation that is out there that affects teachers right now.

Judy Schaubach further explained her view of the union function in regard to lobbying:

Legislation and legislative action we have to get even more involved in because it does impact so much what happens in the classroom. The bread-and-butter issues are still important but we have to expand this role of professional advocacy into the professional things.

It would seem that the major reform in Minnesota took place despite the MEA's original "position in opposition" as expressed by the leadership. Eventually they decided as the MEA Executive Director put it: "[Open Enrollment was] a tempest in a teapot because only 138 students took advantage the first year." The Governor's Chief of Staff, Dan Loritz, told me as early as 1988 that MEA had become neutral on Open Enrollment and "They are just going to let it cook....[Even though] the MEA is a powerful lobby and a huge contributor [to political campaigns]."

The strategy in South Carolina had been to be inclusive and to make certain that every stakeholder group got something from the EIA: teachers received the Southeastern average; school districts acquired extra funding for new programs; business had a say and saw accountability and incentives. Minnesota took another tack by creating a Governor's discussion group after the legislation had been introduced. Eventually Perpich was able to assist the unions to be neutral on his major reform.

Pennsylvania

In formal interviews, the former Secretary of Education, three PSEA leaders, and a state legislator concurred that no major legislated reform package has passed in Pennsylvania in all of the years since *A Nation at Risk* was published. Several educational leaders have also agreed in informal conversation, that Pennsylvania has not yet mounted a full-blown legislated reform. That does not mean that nothing has changed here, but it does mean that other vehicles have been used instead of legislation. It also does not mean that legislation was not introduced; it means that major legislated reform has not yet passed. Gilhool, Secretary of Education in 1988, stated that most of the reforms that took place during his tenure were from the Pennsylvania Department of Education (PDE) or the State Board of Education. While he had very positive relationships with the PSEA leadership, and he and they were preparing a legislative package to present, he departed before that could happen. The Governor appointed a "more traditional" Secretary of Education to follow Gilhool and the dynamics between PSEA and PDE changed somewhat. According to the 1995 PSEA President, David Gondak, the relationship between the PDE and PSEA has become very strained most recently. The current Governor, Tom Ridge, has appointed a pro-voucher Secretary of Education, Eugene Hickok whose excerpted speech is quoted on page 65. The two of them have mounted a legislative initiative on vouchers which was defeated in June, 1995. Gondak described the coalition of educational groups that joined PSEA in lobbying to defeat Ridge's "K.I.D.S. I" voucher package. As part of the plan of opposition, the coalition staged a bus trip across the state that

gathered signatures on petitions opposing vouchers that ended in Harrisburg just as the vote was to be taken. Gondak predicted during our November 7, 1995 conversation that Ridge would bring the legislation up again soon, and that it might well be defeated again because the coalition will oppose it again. He informed me that the 137,000 members of PSEA have been asked to send postcards in opposition to vouchers and privatization of education.

We have a lot of influence...because we have members all across the state...we are able to mobilize our members, for example we are doing postcards right now. We had each member send two postcards; one to their senator, one to their representative on two issues. We've gotten back 140,000 postcards on privatization and vouchers since September 23rd [a month and a half].

In an early morning broadcast that I heard on November 8, 1995 at approximately 10:30 AM on the Philadelphia news radio station KYW, an advertisement was aired from the *Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers*. The essential message delivered by a female voice was that parents and taxpayers should oppose vouchers by sending postcards to their state legislators. The advertisement was a direct response to the fact that as of that date (November 8, 1995) Ridge did publish his newest "K.I.D.S. II" proposal in Harrisburg, one day after Gondak had said he expected it soon. Gondak had said that the Coalition was composed of several groups including PSEA, PTA, and School Boards Association. The full list is: AFL-CIO; A United Methodist Witness in Pennsylvania; American Association of University Women; American Civil Liberties Union; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Americans for Democratic Action; Americans for Religious Liberty; Americans United for Separation of Church and State; Anti-Defamation League;

Eastern PA-Delaware Region; Association of Pennsylvania State College and University Faculties; Citizen Action of Pennsylvania; Citizens Committee on Public Education in Philadelphia; Education Law Center; Fellowship Commission; Freedom to Learn Network; Interdenominational Ministers Conference; Jewish Labor Committee, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania; NAACP-PA; National Council of Jewish Women; Parents Union for Public Schools; Pennsylvania Art Education Association; Pennsylvania Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; Pennsylvania Association for Elementary and Secondary School Principals; Pennsylvania Association of Rural and Small Schools; Pennsylvania Association of School Administrators; Pennsylvania Association of School Business Officials; Pennsylvania Association of School Retirees; Pennsylvania Congress of Parents and Teachers; Pennsylvania Council of Churches; Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers; Pennsylvania Jewish Coalition; Pennsylvania League of Urban Schools; Pennsylvania School Boards Association; Pennsylvania School Reform Network; Pennsylvania State Education Association; Pennsylvania State Education Association-Retired; People for the American Way; and Philadelphia Home and School Council. It seems that Ridge has been able to create the kind of collaborative organization that others have created except that this one is in opposition instead of in concert with his program of reform.

Groups in support of vouchers have formed as well. One is called REACH and is a religious schools organization that would stand to gain if vouchers pass. Some of the interviewees were willing to talk about the fact that this state has a strong "religious right" that seems to have an anti-public education agenda. In fact, two of the

PSEA discussants let me know that the "right" have prompted their organization's desire to have a more proactive reform agenda of its own. At the December, 1995 PSEA House of Delegates, a legislation package proposal will be presented. Gondak shared the confidential list of topics with me, and agreed to sending the full proposal if it passes. PSEA will call this package "Change That Works; PSEA Education Reform Package". The ten proposed components according to the cover sheet of the proposal which Gondak sent to me are:

- Public and Non-Public School Student Access to Computers,
- Technology and Scientific Laboratories Act (Legislative initiative);
- Technology Diffusion Act (Legislative Initiative); • Safe Schools Act (Amendments to House Bill 8 and Senate Bill 96-Special Session);
- Report Card to Citizens Act (Legislative initiative); • Educational and Financial Distress Act (Amendments to Senate Bill 250); • World-Class Reading Performance Act (Legislative initiative); • Continuous Learning Act (Legislative initiative); • School Revitalization Incentives Act (Legislative initiative); • Neutral Third Party Binding Resolution Package (House Bill 1127, House Bill 1990); • Education Fair Play Act (legislative initiative)

He was willing to share this much, but thought he better not expand or expound on these issues until after his House of Delegates had reviewed this package. While speculation as to the content of these initiatives is possible, suffice it to represent them in this way and indicate that the PSEA is about to take this action. Gondak talked further about the importance of collaboration if legislated reform is to occur. I was taken with how reminiscent his statement was of Lieberman's criticism of *A Nation at Risk* because it left out the union factor. Gondak explained what he sees as necessary for reform to go forward in Pennsylvania this way:

If you look at the history of American-made cars and the fact that the foreign-made cars at one particular point were jumping ahead in terms

of quality...what GM did with its Saturn Plant was a...revolution in labor/management relations...they choose not to have management say how it was going to be done, but to work cooperatively...I think until we get to that point [in education]...[and teachers] have to have some meaningful input and be perceived as knowing what they are doing and their input has to be seen as valuable...you can't legislate changes on how schools run.

Given this point-of-view, and the strong lobbying that PSEA exerts in this state, legislated reform will have to result either from a collaborative effort or as in Minnesota come to fruition despite the union. The next few months gave an answer as to how it would be in 1995: PSEA helped to keep the Governor from accumulating enough votes to pass and enact his reform package.

Framing Question 5: How do the governmental bodies and policy-makers view and/or use the NEA groups for purposes of policy formulation or implementation?

As described earlier, South Carolina's governor decided that he needed to create a collaborative in which the teacher organizations were major stakeholder-players in order to accomplish his desired educational reform. In Minnesota and Pennsylvania such direct involvement was not sought initially by the reform-minded governors discussed. In fact as mentioned, Minnesota's Perpich did not initially involve any of the education establishment although he did try to bring them on board after he had announced his legislative package. Gilhool told me that he was specifically brought into his position as Secretary of Education in Pennsylvania in order to solidify good relations between Governor Casey and the teacher unions (PSEA and PFT). It seems

that neither Governor Ridge nor Eugene Hickok, his Secretary of Education in Pennsylvania is trying to get the unions on board with their reform initiative. Quite the contrary seems to be the case since the preponderance of the K.I.D.S. II package is diametrically opposite of items that PSEA could support. We are back to the proverbial elephant and the blind men when we answer the question of how policy-makers and governmental bodies use the Education Association affiliates. In fact, we can even go to the national Department of Education and get a view of the same pachyderm.

Legislators in the states tend to see the teachers' organization differently from their own sides of the aisle as the following samples suggest: In Minnesota, Representative Koppendraye, a Republican said:

I said to one of the union lobbyists, 'You're not here for education, you're here for dues'. The MEA and the MFT have a choke-hold on the legislature....The MEA last year spent \$360,000 on DFL [Democratic Farm League] use. On Republican reps they spent \$16,000. The teacher unions control the legislature more than any other lobby. I'm just down here saying recognize who's pulling the strings and for whose interest.

Meanwhile, Crosby Lewis, a Democrat from South Carolina saw the teachers' group as important to getting legislation passed. He discussed the anatomy of the legislation and how they went about vote counting:

We would use the Education Association and the Palmetto Teachers Association [to lobby and to count votes]....We used in those strategy meetings people from SCEA, the School Administrators Association, the School Boards Association, and the Chamber of Commerce.

A Pennsylvania Democratic legislator views the PSEA as one of the most powerful lobbying groups in his state.

The Governor's KIDS II will have a hard time getting through the legislature. It has many good features but it is being presented as a whole package and the PSEA opposes it.

Chief School Officers of each of the states dwelled on the positive power of having the Education Association on board for any initiatives: Ruth Randall, Minnesota Commissioner, when asked: "Have the Education Association leaders initiated reform?" responded:

Oh yes, they have. They were not in the restructuring mold so much, but they pushed core curriculum. They had a whole host of things; they wanted teachers to have a stronger voice in decision-making and the FT did, too. I liked the title of the FT: *Striking a Better Bargain*.

Her successor, Linda Powell said:

The MEA has been extremely on-board with the graduation standards. They have been very, very helpful...I see the MEA functioning very much as a professional organization, involved in educational policy.

In South Carolina, the story was a little different, but still having the teachers' groups at the table was seen as important at the Department of Education. The assistant to the State Superintendent in 1995 said:

The role of teachers and the role of teacher organizations are two separate questions because we are a right-to-work state.... [The teacher organization, SCEA] is active in Columbia inside the beltway as far as policy making and policy influencing. At the school level they are not very active. They need to be at the table in all discussions about education.

Charlie Williams who was State Superintendent during EIA enactment saw the teachers as very important allies in the reform process. In Pennsylvania, Gilhool expressed that a major focus of his had been to work with the teachers and their unions in order to move education forward. His current successor does not seem to

subscribe to the same view of PSEA or teachers.

Even the national Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, Thomas Payzant, saw a usefulness to having NEA with him when he tried to get legislation passed. Like his boss, Riley, he sees them as part of the coalition that is needed:

Q [to Payzant]: "Does it matter if the NEA is involved in the reforms?"

A: I would broaden the group to include other stakeholders. The teacher organizations [like NEA] are major players, and they were involved in helping to get the legislation through [He is specifically referring to the latest Federal enactment of Chapter 1, etc.], but so were a lot of other folks on the coalition. It was unusual because there were business people involved, PTA, a coalition that came together around Goals 2000, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Act, Schools-to-Work Act, direct student loans that had not been seen in Washington before....You can apply that same thing to state-level legislation... we need coalitions to get reforms going.

In each of the sites then, NEA affiliate groups are drawn into the legislative and governmental policy-making of their locales. As a major lobby for education, they are on the line, however, they are not always invited to be allies.

Framing Questions 6 and 7

6. What happens if the Education Association is ignored as a state embarks on restructuring schools?
7. Is membership in the NEA affiliate consistent with teacher interests in reform?
(In other words, if the affiliate group is represented on governmental reform committees are teachers in general being represented? *or* Do unions really represent the whole "profession" which they claim to serve?)

These two questions seem to go together for as one answers the first, one sees

that the Association is never really ignored especially at the local school sites where they are constituted. They may be uninvited as allies as the Minnesota and Pennsylvania stories demonstrate. It would seem that energy expended into getting them on board could be well worth the time. If one gauges the scope of legislated reform in the three states we have been viewing, the state with the most comprehensive package is South Carolina which indeed did bring the Association on board. While the union leadership even in South Carolina where they do not see themselves as a union, stated in many ways that they are committed to the rights and protection of their membership, they do represent a strong force in changing education. When I interviewed classroom teachers in faculty rooms in the three states, I learned that teachers who are members do not believe that they are greatly influenced by the stance of their associations, and yet they did express the belief that the association reflects their best personal and professional interests. The Pennsylvania postcard story certainly tells of an influential group; the Southeastern average salary in South Carolina came because of the need to get the teacher associations to participate positively; and in Minnesota, the merger of the two teacher groups will make them an even stronger lobby. Unions are associations that are primarily designed for the benefit of their members as I was told many times by my informants. For instance from a Minnesota Senator I heard:

I view labor unions as organizations that people have gathered around in their self-interest to be protective and nurturing and to help them go somewhere.

Or as Barkley at NEA said:

Purposes for unions existing:

1. To protect members from dysfunctional systems.
2. To collaborate with management in fixing the dysfunctional system. If we're going to be a leader in educational reform we've got to have something to say that's other than 'no'
3. For the joy and satisfaction of employees in their jobs.

In the final chapter of this paper, I will consider the applicability issue and come to some conclusions about what this now long-term study has discovered about the involvement of NEA affiliate groups in state-legislated educational reform. Beyond that, I will take a few steps back from the specifics that I uncovered to deal with a broader view of reform through legislation.

As to whether or not the teacher unions represent the whole "profession" which they claim to serve, the answer is unclear. Teachers who were interviewed at conferences and in faculty rooms of the three states had a wide variety of opinions about the Education Associations in their respective states. Several teachers were not members of either of the major unions. In South Carolina, many teachers belong to the local state organization: Palmetto State Teachers Association because it is less expensive and in the eyes of some "less abrasive" than the Education Association. No matter what level of participation or non-participation that an individual teacher may select in regard to the union or association, it is clear that salaries and working conditions for all public school teachers have been improved through the intercession of union activities including collective bargaining and legislative lobbying.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

A major question of this study is "What are the involvements and/or impacts of the National Education Association's affiliate groups in or on the legislated current reform policy decisions in three states?" In that large question are subsumed eight issues of which seven have been discussed in the preceding chapter. The final of the eight framing concerns of this study is: "Can generalizations be made from one state's experiences to other locales?" (In other words, can there be any applicability of the information garnered for this paper so that a state undertaking educational reform might benefit from the knowledge acquired in this study?) I have placed this particular discussion in the concluding chapter because it has a more global nature than the other subsumed concerns. Furthermore, as the researcher, it is up to me to make some of the generalizations based on the data I collected and on my first-hand field observations. It is in the discussion of this eighth area that I can do that. Viewing the outcomes of legislated reform initiatives and the involvement of state affiliate Education Associations in this framework reveals several serious issues. Foremost among those is the whole idea of the reform of public education through legislated means. My earlier disclaimer that I take no position on the desirability or effectiveness of any or all state-legislated reforms, but acknowledge these efforts as part of this reform era's phenomena worth discussing stands. However, the bigger argument that I want to wage is that education is not the purvey of a single established entity called "schooling" that is only subject to change through mandation or legislation. In fact,

education is not confined to a small portion of our respective lives in a formal setting called "school" at all. Each culture passes on its repository of ideas through some form of education. This cultural function in the United States has been assigned to schools along with many other institutions and entities such as home, church, business, libraries, museums, media, and popular culture. "Schooling" should not be confused with education, and schools should not be confused with the people who compose them. The initial interview with NEA's Dr. Gary Watts beginning this study revealed that he held "top-down" legislated reforms as impositions from entities that could not really cause the required changes. Given that public schools are in systems, organizations, bureaucracies that are resistant to radical change, perhaps change at all, one needs to think about the challenges and difficulties of doing things differently than they have been done, and to remember that schooling is supposed to be about the education of our youth not about the adults who work in schools.

Another component of the concern equation is the nature of unions which are also organizations, bureaucracies, systems that have a particular role in the scheme of our cultural life. Unions are dedicated to the improvement of the circumstances of employment for their members and their "...protect[ion]...from dysfunctional systems" as NEA's Barkley told me. Add to these the political nature of legislation, the lack of agreement as to what reform means let alone looks like, and the individual filtering metaphors through which each person looks at life, and one is compelled to say that improving the education of students may not always be at the center of what occurs. Perhaps the hope that education for students will improve is always present in

legislated reforms; and perhaps the Education Associations and the respective legislators are really sure that what they are doing will improve education. If the interviewees' views on how to define reform are put on a continuum, the definitions range from very positive to very negative. If educational reform in this country is about making schooling better for students so that they learn as much as possible towards making them thoughtful and productive United States citizens, then clearly some of the people to whom I spoke have that as the center of what they think reform should be. Recalling the name of this study, *Plea of the Land: "Teach Our Children Better"*, puts a national priority of educational reform at the top of this work. That plea has many sources and its roots are in many private agendas. The actions that were observed and analyzed for this paper do not always seem to bring about that desired end product.

Looking at categories of responses as to what reform is intended to be, produces the following positive approaches: A Minnesota Legislator tells us that which "causes our children to be world-class competitors" is reform. A counterpart in South Carolina says:

Nationally and in South Carolina we have a real opportunity to enter a new debate about the importance of public education, and the time is right for that. Out of that can come a whole renewal to commitment to public education. We need to try some new things; greater flexibility is a good idea. (Tim Rogers, 1995)

The chief state school officers have concurrence, too:

In this state educational reform revolves around totally changing the traditional paradigm from the one we used to know to more currently meeting the needs of the kids for the future. (Powell, Minnesota, 1995)

The former Pennsylvania Secretary of Education, Gilhool says:

All those things that are necessary so that every child actually learns and learns well to the top of the curriculum [constitute reform]. (1995)

In South Carolina, the Department of Education spokesperson, Pam Pritchard agrees:

To us, educational reform is taking a look at what our goals are for the students, as far as learning standards are concerned...to determine what you want students to know and be able to do when they leave the public school system. The second step, what most people call 'the reform' is an outlining of what in the system needs to change to support students achieving those learning standards. (1995)

In fact, if all of the definitional responses are mapped on a chart, we see that about half of the respondents are "child-centered" in their definitions of reform; while the other half are either more adult- or organizationally-centered and/or negative about reform's existence or successes. If role and date categories are used to analyze the reform definitions, 13 of the 1995 respondents have come to view reform from a child-centered approach while only four of the 1988 respondents did so. A half dozen 1988 respondents and five 1995 interviewees favor some form of adult or organizational definition. The negative responses divide down the middle with three from each era. Of the nine legislator/governmental leaders who answered my questions, two were child-centered; five responded with some portion of their definition allotted to adult/organizational reform; and three (or half of the negative responses) came from this group. The teachers in faculty rooms and at conferences all used a child-centered definition. Only one of the chief state school officers used restructuring (adult/organization) as a response while all of the others defined reform in terms of child-centered, student-oriented constructs. It was among the union officers

and officials where more than in any other role category, the definitions encompassed both child-centered and adult/organizational-centered from individual respondents. To indicate this duality among the unionists, their comments are either repeated in two columns or the portion that applies to one or the other is quoted in the appropriate column on the charts on the next few pages. One should probably bring a filter of cynicism or at least doubt to the public language of public figures including union leadership.

While the NEA and affiliate officials maintained that there is no directive from the national headquarters as to how each state group should operate in regard to reform, the unanimity of responses from these respondents at least suggests that there is a cultural norm and a common belief system that functions within the context of the union. With the advent of a national NEA agenda of reform, it stands to reason that active participants would have similar comments to make. Chart 2, which appears on the following few pages, offers the categories of respondents and their preferred emphasis on the meaning of reform. As the chart is viewed, a graphic depiction of the duality of NEA responses as well as the types of responses of others becomes clearer. I suspect that the NEA duality is a result of the dual nature of being a teacher/educator and a union activist at the same time. As educators, they are drawn to the success of students; as activists in an organization designed to protect educators and enhance their status, they are committed to substantive involvement of teachers in decision-making. Thus while legislated reform tends to be "top-down" the unionists are seeking "bottom-up" involvement in change. This is consistent with what Watts told me to

begin with, and confirms a sort of schizophrenic split that is harbored by teachers: they are professional caregivers and imparters of knowledge who also care about their own working conditions.

(See Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions on pages 96-101)

Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions

REFORM BY CATEGORIES			
Category of Speaker	Child-centered	Adult/Org-Centered	Negative
MN Senator-Pres (1988) DFL			...It's a bad word...you have come down from the top like Sec. Bennett or the governor...and correct something by bill writing
MN Senator-Ed Chr (1988) DFL		...change the organizational structure to give someone the responsibility for this...without ever stopping to ask why they want to do any of it.	...change the organizational structure to give someone the responsibility for this...without ever stopping to ask why they want to do any of it.
MN Senator-Ed Chr (1995) DFL	...to design educational systems that universally provide the tools that are necessary for people to succeed socially and economically...	we need something more flexible than bureaucracy...we are decentralizing	
PA State Representative (1995) D	...to better educate our children.	...changing in some way shape or form the way we currently provide education to our children be that by way of curriculum, educators, finances, building structures and parental involvement and even the business sector.	
Citizens League Exec in MN (1995)		Reform is now about funding	
MN DFL Legislator (1995)	That which causes our children to be world-class competitors		

Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions

REFORM BY CATEGORIES			
Category of Speaker	Child-centered	Adult/Org-Centered	Negative
MN Political Leader (1995) R		...making the changes to get dramatically different results...changing whatever we have to change, running whatever risks we have to run to get different results	
MN Gov's Advisor (1988) DFL		...You can not make a change in as big an elephant as public education without proposing something dramatic...negotiating out something all sides can live with.	
MN R. Legislator (1995)		Educators have to cope with what legislators do...We are either going to go towards more local controls or state controls	
MN Chief of Staff (1988)			Reform...somebody made a list of all known problems, states started passing solutions and when the solutions exceeded the known problems, it was over
MN HS Principal (1995)	I would define it in terms of activities, programs, directions that either the district or the sate would set in order to better meet the needs of students...new initiatives to raise our achievement gap		

Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions

REFORM BY CATEGORIES			
Category of Speaker	Child-centered	Adult/Org-Centered	Negative
SC MS Principal (1995)			Same cyclical thing over the 20th century; every couple of decades we decide we aren't doing a very good job and we need to do something about it...then we look at not very new ideas and recycle them
MN MEA V.P. (1988)	...the delivery system for education to do a better job with students	...the delivery system for education to do a better job with students	
MN MEA Sec/Treas (1988)	...focusing on making sure that all students have access to the full breath of curriculum		
MN MEA Pres (1995) former Sec/Tres	...initiatives that really improve on not only student performance but also how we operate our schools, working conditions as well a learning conditions.	...initiatives that really improve on not only student performance but also how we operate our schools, working conditions as well a learning conditions.	
MFT V.P. (1988)		...school-based school reform and the desired result is restructuring of individual school sites and a restructuring of districts to decentralize and to place decision-making power at the site where the children are.	

Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions

REFORM BY CATEGORIES			
Category of Speaker	Child-centered	Adult/Org-Centered	Negative
MFT Pres (1995)	To me reform is looking at what will make students more successful in the classroom. If that involves (see next block)	If that involves different governance systems as site-based decision-making, as differentiated staffing, principal or no principal, different teams...all those pieces that go into governance systems that might make it better for students.	
PSEA Field Director (1995)	Systematic change in the educational system at the school district level that will improve student performance.	Systematic change in the educational system at the school district level that will improve student performance.	
PSEA President (1995)	Do things better in the classroom, new technologies, new methods	Do things better in the classroom, new technologies, new methods	
SCEA Pres (1995)	...things that are going to make it better...continue with the reform to make sure you come up with the best	...things that are going to make it better...continue with the reform to make sure you come up with the best	
SCEA Ex Dir (1988)		...beefing up of the educational system...a smorgasbord of proposed changes to the educational system.	
SCEA Ex Dir (1995)		A return or empowering of educators and members of the community who are closest to the learning environment of the student.	
MEA Exec Dir (1995)	...making changes for the betterment of student achievement.		

Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions

REFORM BY CATEGORIES			
Category of Speaker	Child-centered	Adult/Org-Centered	Negative
MN 1995 Commissioner of Ed	In this state educational reform revolves around totally changing the traditional paradigm from the one we used to know to more currently meeting the needs of the kids of the future.		
MN 1988 Commissioner of Ed		...restructuring.	
PA 1988 Commissioner of Ed (as reported in 1995)	All those things that are necessary so that every child learns and learns well to the top of the curriculum.		
SC 1995 Commissioner Spokesperson	...to determine what you want the students to know and be able to do when they leave the public school system.		
NEA Director (1995)	The purpose of education is clearly to preserve and nurture joy in learning.		
Secretary of Elementary-Secondary Ed at Department of Ed.			...most of the reform efforts of the past have been quite narrowly focused, categorical in nature with mixed results.
SC Business Partnership Com Chr (1995)			The American Reform Movement was a conservative movement-accountability and results.
Teacher in SC (1995)	To make things better and have students scores increase and more college attenders.		

Table 2: Categorical Reform Definitions

REFORM BY CATEGORIES			
Category of Speaker	Child-centered	Adult/Org-Centered	Negative
PA Teacher	Changing whatever we need to in our classrooms so that students can learn more and better.		
School Boards Exec Dir (SC-1988)		...one level of reform is setting standard and requiring evaluations and requiring higher standards. The other part of reform is setting up a system that will work well, a system that is assured of success...	

Having reviewed some of the definitional categories of reform, we can at least ascertain that many of the respondents see that we are engaged in efforts to "teach our children better" than we have taught them ever before. At least their public language says so. If we date the current educational reform movement's beginning from April 26, 1983 with *A Nation at Risk's* publication, it is true that our country has been engaged in this particular era of educational dialogue for at least the last twelve years and has been efforting at improvement. When the Commission on Excellence was assembled in August of 1981, there were problems that were perceived as a national emergency for our students and our economy that emanated from our schools. Twelve years later those perceptions persist and they are coupled with genuine anxiety over the violence that now has invaded many schools. The political direction of this nation has shifted to the right in that same period with a fiscal conservatism emerging that may reallocate resources away from current federal funding to state block grants. Educational funding seems to be on the cutting board at this very moment. In these dozen years, we have seen the emergence of innovations in some schools that have resulted in some students doing better than their counterparts of twelve years ago. We can travel this country and find examples of schools where students are successful, achieving, critically-thinking, results-oriented, self-assured, caring individuals. We can not, however, find a universal public education that has met the high standards that we mouth. In actuality, public education is still in crisis as perceived by many of our politicians and our citizens. The magic of renewal and high quality education has illuded many of our urban centers as well as our rural fields. An announcement for an

upcoming broadcast on National Public Radio sums up the status of education as seen by many: "The Dumbing-Down of American Students" and is one more example of our dialogue on education as depicted by the media. Business and industry have taken to doing remedial training in basic skills because of a concern about the product of schools. Taxpayers are distressed because of what they see to be the high costs of education with low results. A void exists that is beginning to be filled by privatization of public education. Yet schools have not changed to answer the concerns or fill the void on their own.

There is the oft told story about our great-great-grandparents who would be amazed by our current lifestyles and our contemporary conveniences. Telephones, electricity, computers, skyscrapers, roads, automobiles, planes, space travel, and even telephones would baffle them; our mores would shock them; but our schools would be just as they were when our ancestors were young. As we approach the turn of the millennium and enter the 21st century, somehow it seems quite astounding that we have seemingly made so little headway in modernizing our educational system. I am reminded of a favorite short story by Ray Bradbury called "A Sound of Thunder" in which a time traveler accidentally tramples a butterfly so that the world to which he returns after his flight into another era has reverted to a medieval mode. Perhaps we have trampled too many butterflies and have interrupted the chain of being enough that we, too, are reverting to another regressive era instead of rocketing ahead to a soaring future. In twelve years of discussion and elevating education to the level of motherhood and apple pie (not baseball any longer since a strike changed that love),

we are hard-pressed to document monumental improvement in American public education. The crisis has persisted long enough as to become the norm.

As I observed the three states of my investigation dealing with that crisis at the governmental level, Elazar's descriptions held true. As I sat in the gallery of the legislature and watched the elected members proceed as a super school board in South Carolina, I confirmed it as a place where traditional relationships of an elite and a populace seem to inform governmental decision-making. The genteel Riley and his cohorts seem to genuinely want to make life for their less-privileged state inhabitants better through providing skills that are marketable. In Minnesota I did find a moralistic view of life that provides for repartee among a highly engaged group of individuals who want their citizens to be involved in the public discussion of quality of life issues. As I sat on the floor of the House as an invited observer and not in the gallery, consistent with that sense of engagement of a citizen, I heard the debates about the rectitude of budgeting for education. The same level of engagement was not observable in either of the other states. The individuals of Pennsylvania have not as yet responded to marketplace needs to make education less costly and more productive. They are working on it, but change is slow in Pennsylvania. Looking at legislated reform in the three particular states of this study may provide answers to the question of whether state-level reform initiatives have impact on education. Given that better education is difficult to define, difficult to assess, and not readily apparent throughout the country, one must truly wonder about the effectiveness of any reform efforts. Given also the nature of politics and legislated changes that may serve more

for re-election purposes than altruism, one must wonder about the actual betterment of education that results from legislated reforms. When one has a vested interest in the results of some new action, one may assess its effectiveness through a peculiar set of lenses.

South Carolina had the most comprehensive legislated package of the three investigated; and as Riley told his constituents, perhaps the most comprehensive in the country. When I visited Terry Peterson, an architect of EIA, in Washington, D.C. in the spring of 1995, he gave me several charts that purport to show improvement in South Carolina's education since the passage and enactment of EIA. Because these are his own hand-done work, I have not included them in this paper but summarized them as follows: He had graphs that showed that more students had enrolled in tougher courses in foreign languages and chemistry; there were 15% more students taking Advanced Placement courses in 1991 than in 1979; and 7% more students entered college in 1990 compared with 1975. Another chart showed that while in 1983 two-thirds of eleventh graders met minimum writing standards, by 1992 eighty-five per cent of South Carolina's tenth graders met the standard. During the first year of the "Exit Exam" in 1986 only 55% of students passed; by 1991, 80% were passing. Absenteeism had been reduced from an average of almost 11 days a year per student to about 7 days in a ten-year period that covered 1981-91. The high school graduation rate had gone up about 15% from 1979-89 with 68% of students who entered schools graduating (with a long way to go to meet the Goals 2000 objective of 90% graduating.) In a rural Southern state that had been marked by a racial divide in

schools for many years that had resulted in many students attending private schools because the quality of public schools was believed to be poor, 15,000 more students had entered public schools while 8,000 left private schools in the period after passage of EIA. The final chart shows that more teachers, more parents, and more members of the public-at-large believe that EIA "has improved quality of public education" with each successive year from 1985-88. He did not have current figures on any of his charts, but he did acknowledge that a plateau seemed to have been reached in the last few years. As he pointed out: "Once the reforms are completely phased in, you get a big bump in performance but then it plateaus until you do something new again." Others in South Carolina noted the same phenomenon. A legislative aide who has followed the ups and downs of reform told me: "I would say the reform was very effective the first five years, then there was a plateau because the impetus of the reform began to fade." The Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association told me on our second visit in 1995:

The EIA has been in operation for ten years; and while for the first seven years we made dramatic strides and blew the tops off of every chart, we have leveled out in a few areas. Any time you are in an innovative or reform cycle, you can't keep doing the same things or it's not innovative any more. It's time to change and revitalize some of EIA.

While Peterson and others want to say that EIA caused the improvements, it is possible that a Hawthorne effect was operating which might account for the improvements as well as the leveling off. It is also possible that one can not expect a particular set of reforms to keep improvement going because education is dynamic and requires constant attention. Looking at Peterson's charting might be a cause to rejoice

that progress has been made or it might be that the improvements are of such low magnitude as to be discounted by critics. (Peterson, 1995, *Unpublished charts and graphs about EIA improvements*.) Realizing that Peterson is one of the major designers of EIA and that by his own descriptions in 1988, EIA was to be based on the "research on effective schools", one must ask if the measures he shared with me actually assess the original goals. (See page 55 for his direct quote.)

Some of the South Carolina practitioners to whom I spoke, seemed to think that EIA had had a reverse effect in a few arenas. The principal told me that EIA was involved with such discreet issues, that it had the effect of mandating and controlling too much of the educational agenda:

I don't think we had any serious reform. What EIA did was focus energy and interest on education. It made it an important part of the discussion. It did institute some programs and reinstated ability-grouping again....We have to look at what the research says works and stop things like ability grouping.

She and others including legislators accuse the South Carolina Legislature of functioning as a "super school board" of the sort that gets involved in the minutia of day-to-day operations. "The legislature is saying we will teach this or that. The other end is no regulations. In South Carolina the legislature acts as a school board," she averred. The teachers in her faculty room explained that EIA had not meant very many changes to them with the exception of a raise to the Southeastern average and a "laughable" prohibition against public address announcements which had been mostly disregarded by 1995. One may wonder what public address announcements have to do with educational reform. The explanation given to me by a creator of EIA was fewer

interruptions mean more time on task. The principal was also distressed that the advent of gifted programs and "Remedial/Compensatory" classes as promulgated by EIA had reversed progress in integrating classes. It seems that the gifted classes have few African-American students by comparison to the high numbers of African-Americans in "Remedial/Compensatory" programs. (The distinction as explained to me between the two is based on the age and grade of the student who is placed in these classes.) A few respondents pointed out that it was wise to place children into these programs because class size and funding are associated with the numbers of children thus placed.

The teacher associations' leaders all informed me that EIA's teacher incentive plan had never been fully implemented. In fact by 1995, it was gone. Then there was the "raid on the penny" that was occurring while I visited in 1995. The South Carolina House of Representatives was engaged in rearranging the "trust fund" into the general fund in order to reduce property taxes which went against the promises made by the originators of EIA. Still others doubted that South Carolina had moved very far even with the improvements cited. For many years South Carolina had been vying with Mississippi and Louisiana for the bottom of all states on most measures in regard to education. In several areas, South Carolina has risen from that level, but its two rivals are also beginning to rise. As Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of PSTA reported:

We don't have to say 'Thank God for Mississippi' anymore. That's what we used to say because we were either 49th or 50th in every poll that came out. People thought we walked around barefoot and pregnant. That was their idea of education in South Carolina. We made it happen...EIA

was so comprehensive, we raised everything.

In many measures, South Carolina is still in the bottom half of the country but not as far down as it once had been.

When Tom Payzant, the National Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, was interviewed he offered the perspective of the national view of reform. In describing the initial phases (or waves) of reform that took place in the early eighties and bringing the emphasis to the current year, he said:

I would argue that you can really identify three or four different phases of the reform efforts that, if you want, began in response to *A Nation At Risk* in '83. The early phases, the first or second phase were characterized by the attitude... 'We started to do some things the right way, and the effort to be made was to do more of what we thought worked well and to do it faster.' So it was toughen graduation requirements, improve teaching by tougher teacher certification standards, upgrade textbooks, lengthen the school day, school year, stabilize the dollars to invest in education...if you looked at the state reforms in the early to mid-eighties really reflected that kind of attitude. Then you begin to see a little more interest in a results focus, and begin to deal with some accountability issues and to not just dwell on the things going in on the front end but on what was coming out in terms of improved student learning. In the late eighties and early nineties, you got some variations on that which became politically charged like Outcomes Based Education. Then with the Charlottesville Conference and the national goals and more conversations about standards and new kinds of assessments...authentic assessments...began to get a broader kind of view. What Goals 2000 has done is to tie the pieces together.

As already noted, Minnesota's reforms were less comprehensive than South Carolina's. It would seem if Payzant is correct, that South Carolina did fall into the first wave of discreet actions, but Minnesota was actually consistent with its reputation for being progressive and by 1985 was already shifting out of the first wave into another one where accountability and standards were being used. However, on the same measures,

Minnesota was already in the forefront of education when it began its legislatively-initiated reforms. With 1.3% of its students enrolled in "choice" placements (6,000 out of 460,000), one can wonder how major the reform has been. While several smaller districts have consolidated into larger entities as a result of some of the legislation, it is not clear that schools really have made major improvements in order to attract more "choice" students. Some critics believe that the families who have made choices have done so for sports programs or work-related locations of parents rather than for academic value.

Minnesota has long been known as a progressive state where citizens engage in civil discourse and students learn to do the same. It was no accident that Perpich made his speech recommending reform to the Citizens League which seems to be a uniquely Minnesotan conclave. On both of my visits to Minnesota, I was invited to attend meetings of education committees of the League where a wide array of citizens seriously discussed current issues. At the first such meeting in 1988, charter schools were discussed in depth. As the former Executive Director of that group explained to me in 1995:

At the urging of the Citizens League was the enactment of the charter school law. We invented it [charter schools] but we are still relatively timid about using it.

The breakfast in 1995 featured two legislators discussing a bi-partisan multi-member organization called the Coalition for Educational Reform and Accountability (CERA) which had spent several months looking at educational issues in Minnesota. One of the speakers was a Democratic Farm Labor Senator and her partner on the podium was a

Republican Representative who explained CERA to me:

Coalition for Educational Reform (CERA) is for policy making instead of politics....Educators have to cope with what the legislators do....I see us at a crossroads in education. We are either going to go towards more local control or state controls. (Koppendrayner, 1995)

The educational union leaders to whom I spoke certainly expressed a belief that they need to help the legislators make more "real reforms" happen. By "real" they mean teacher empowerment in the form of site-based decision-making. The leaders of MEA and MFT are quite convinced that the combined organization needs to be in the forefront of change if they are to preserve public education, and that change needs to allow teachers to have more say about what goes on in schools. As Sandy Peterson, MFT President explained:

In most instances, we [MFT] initiate much of the legislative reform....We initiated the staff development reform...peer review...site decision making. I see us, the MFT and MEA together, as leaders in the forefront of every piece of meaningful legislation that is out there that effects teachers right now. (1995)

Other Minnesotans including Larry Pogemiller, Chairman of the Senate Education Committee concurred:

We are trying to design educational systems that universally provide the tools that are necessary for people to succeed socially and economically...we need something more flexible than the bureaucracy...we are decentralizing....As Policy-makers, we are in a position where our responsibility is to manage this inevitable transition [from bureaucracy to decentralized decision-making]...from a hierarchical structure to a faculty- or staff-empowered structure that is much more flexible and creative. (1995)

Meanwhile the Democratic Farm Labor Chair of the House Education Finance Committee explained:

I see the reform in Minnesota being driven by special interests, that being business and Republicans....I consider the legislature, especially the people on the education committees in the House and Senate, to be the leading advocates for education in the state of Minnesota. (Rep Alice Johnson as reported to me in 1995)

Her view is consistent with what actually happened since the legislature did enact the reforms without the support of the major educational organizations being on board at the outset. Of course those organizations did get involved fairly early when the Governor and the Commissioner of Education began their "Discussion Group" that included leaders of those organizations. Also, in 1988 when I first visited Minnesota, MEA leaders were involved in helping smaller districts consolidate as they saw this as improvement for their members and their students. There was a simultaneous group going on called the "Six M" which is comprised of the MEA (Minnesota Education Association), MFT (Minnesota Federation of Teachers), MASA (Minnesota Association of School Administrators), MSBA (Minnesota School Boards Association), MEPA (Minnesota Elementary Principals Association), and MSPA (Minnesota Secondary Principals Association) who all come together regularly to map out common ground and common lobbying strategies. The Six M group has stayed in place despite changes in governors, legislators, and commissioners of education because they are organized to lobby for funding. At this point Minnesota is engaged in revamping funding more than in changing schooling. Alice Johnson who is the Minnesota legislative chair of the Education Finance Committee offered the following: "In my view we've done very little to improve schools in the last few years in Minnesota....Any kind of reform we do has to be linked with costs." Her concern was

echoed by other Minnesotans. Representative Leroy Koppendrayner informed me that: "Real reform now in Minnesota is the funding." Currently reform is "about funding and that's part of the larger state conversation about reforming property tax," explained Phil Janni of the Citizens League in 1995.

Minnesota seems to have had enough reform to keep the schools and school districts moving ahead. Like South Carolina the shift is not only to funding concerns, but also to the establishment of state standards. Curt Johnson who is now the chair of the Minneapolis Metropolitan District (a city-state concept) observed:

My most over-arching sense is that reform has slowed down a lot here. Open enrollment is institutionalized now. It's no longer very controversial...It's achieved its policy purpose precisely in that there is enough movement to keep the system more alert than it was, but not enough to destabilize the basis of the system....In the 90's reform has slowed down...We are working on the third leg of the stool. The first leg was offering people a new relationship in which they can choose a school. The second leg of the stool made it possible to choose a different kind of school, i.e. the charter school. The third leg of the stool is real standards, and Minnesota does not have those yet. We've been focusing now in the 90's on standards. (1995)

The Commissioner of Education, Linda Powell also described the shift to standards as the reform of currency: "Graduation standards...moving to a results-based system...redefining and redesigning the curriculum [are the current reforms.]" Even union leadership acknowledges the shift as Louise Sundin of MFT explained:

AFT takes strong and controversial outspoken positions. There are two major themes: those of standards and accountability that are the foundation for the AFT's policy issues in these areas.

This emphasis on standards is consistent with Payzant's observations about the current wave of reform.

In Pennsylvania the struggle to legislate educational reform is going on at this very moment. With the advent of the proposal of K.I.D.S. II (Keystone Initiative for a Difference in Our Schools), Pennsylvania has the opportunity to create major legislated changes. The governor and his advisors having failed once have redesigned the package to get support from former detractors. While standards and outcomes were part of the Pennsylvania Board of Education's revamping of the state regulations, Governor Ridge is looking to make some shifts in that and do some of the things that have been in place in Minnesota for the past seven or eight years through legislation. The new version of K.I.D.S. is particularly appealing to the PSBA for in it can be found many areas that the school boards of the state have advocated for a number of years. Joe Oravitz, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania School Boards Association was a very early discussant for this dissertation when he pointed me to a few districts where the union and the administration were collaborating to create reform. He was recently quoted in his organization's weekly bulletin, the *Information Legislative Service (ILS)*, November 17, 1995 saying:

We believe that the balance in the legislation has been shifted from the voucher portion to all the other elements that school boards support. The KIDS II package represents an historic opportunity to enact a variety of significant education reforms, many of them originally proposed by school boards. In our opinion, KIDS II constitutes the most promising chance to achieve meaningful change in the public schools in a generation.

Governor Ridge and associates seem to have made little or no effort to attract support from teachers or their organizations for K.I.D.S. II. This may be a function of his conservative bent or voter-base. One can see why the school boards would find this

package attractive while the teachers' groups would find it horrendous. As Perpich did in Minnesota, Ridge has made the diminution of mandates a part of his proposal so that some mandates can be waived if the local board can demonstrate to the Secretary of Education that they can meet the intent of mandate in a

more effective, efficient, or economical manner or that the waiver is necessary to stimulate innovation, improve student performance or improve the instructional program.(ILS, November, 1995, p. 4)

Other components that the school boards would favor and the teachers would disfavor include: sabbatical reform, furlough of professional employees, renewable certification, and tenure reform. Sabbaticals have long been a legislated right in this state, but with the changes being offered they would no longer be required unless a school board wished to give them. Currently sabbaticals may be taken for full or half years for reasons of study, travel, or health. Under the new program travel would be eliminated as a reason and a school board could deny the other options as well. Many school board directors to whom I have spoken dislike the costs in funds and educational interruptions caused by sabbaticals, and they are particularly annoyed by half-year allocations. Boards welcome this change; teachers do not.

Until this bill was proposed, districts had a very limited scope as to why teachers could be furloughed. Ridge's plan broadens the sphere to include economic reasons which had never been allowed and to permit districts to furlough on the basis of performance and qualifications to teach rather than simply on a seniority basis. One can envision some boards of education seizing the opportunity to lower their budgets by furloughing more-seasoned teachers who are at higher salaries than younger ones

using the effectiveness of performance as the vehicle. Again boards would favor this while clearly teachers' associations must battle this provision. Prior to 1987, teachers could become permanently certified with no continuing education requirements being imposed; until this bill newer teachers needed to take some professional development courses at least every six years to maintain permanent certificates. Ridge is proposing that all teachers certified after June 1, 1996 would be required to be recertified every five years and all teachers would be required to take courses with the exception of those holding master degrees or higher.

In the area of tenure reform, boards will again be delighted and teacher associations will be roused to major opposition. Tenure has been acquired in Pennsylvania after two satisfactory years of teaching; and once tenured, a teacher could be removed for reasons of moral turpitude, insanity, or demonstrable incompetence requiring an unsatisfactory rating for two consecutive rating periods. Ridge would add other causes and lessen the time and degree of satisfaction needed to be dismissed. As listed in the November 17, 1995 Pennsylvania School Boards *ILS* the additional reasons would be:

- Unsatisfactory teaching performance based on two consecutive appraisals of the employee's teaching performance that are to include classroom observations, not less than four months apart, in which the employee's teaching performance is rated as less than satisfactory.
- Instructional ineffectiveness whereby the employee's teaching methods consistently fail to promote student achievement.
- Willful neglect of duties.
- Physical or mental incapacity as documented by medical evidence, that prevents sufficient performance of the employee's contract.
- Conviction of a felony or acceptance of a guilty plea.

- Insubordination evidenced by a persistent and willful failure to comply with official directives and established policy of the board of school directors
- The awarding of tenure for employees hired after June 1996 would be delayed until completion of three years of satisfactory employment, rather than two years as provided in current law. (p. 7)

If no other provision will cause major contesting from the PSEA and PFT, this one surely will. However, there are other provisions that may also result in teachers protesting. While charter schools may get teacher nods, optional outcomes-based education might get some small degree of opposition; public-to-public choice may not get total opposition from teachers' associations but vouchers have brought out a full-scale campaign of opposition from the Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers of which the PSEA is a major member. The PSBA has publicly supported the entire package of legislated reforms in K.I.D.S II with the single exception of vouchers which they intend to oppose in court as unconstitutional.

At the writing of this paper K.I.D.S. II is waiting legislative action which can not now occur until the legislature resumes sessions in January, 1996. It was not voted on prior to Thanksgiving as originally proposed because, according to published reports, two members in favor were absent. The vote did not take place prior to Christmas recess. Mike Young who is a political analyst specializing in Pennsylvania legislative matters, suggested to me that Governor Ridge will keep bringing up his educational reforms in one form or another until either they win or Ridge leaves office. He may be one of the governors with national ambitions for whom educational and economic reforms are seen as vehicles for building a case. One can deduce from this that the vote will be close whenever it occurs. If this package passes despite the

opposition of PSEA, a new era in Pennsylvania will have arrived. The conventional wisdom has been that PSEA is the most powerful lobby in the state. While the PSEA leaders take the stance that they are an education lobby group, legislators and school boards see them as powerful in all aspects of the political process. I predict that should Ridge's package be enacted, the Pennsylvania courts will be very busy deliberating about jurisdictional and constitutional aspects of these laws. The court proceedings will emanate from many quarters, but especially from the PSEA although on the voucher issue they will be joined by the PSBA.

Are They or Aren't They?

This brings us to the point in the discussion of whether or not the NEA affiliate groups in the three states studied are promoters or obstructers in legislatively-produced educational reform. Conditional on circumstances of their individual state environments and on the content of the reforms, we can find evidence that they are both obstructionists and constructionists. In South Carolina where they were included in a coalition and coopted by the governor, the SCEA has been a very definite force for, if not always the initiators for, reform. Now that the legislature is trying to unfund EIA, their power is being tested. Institutional memory is important and the leadership of SCEA is providing some of that. As legislative aide Ellen Sills said:

If there is ever an argument against term limitations, educational reform is it. You're always going to have piecemeal reform as long as you have short-term, piecemeal legislators...You need institutional memory if you're going to build on the past. (1995)

Sills' assessment could apply in the other two states as well where the

institutional memory resides with the NEA affiliates even when there are change-overs in governors and legislators. In Minnesota where the MEA opposed one portion of the reform (Choice), but supported other portions (consolidation of small districts and charters), they impeded the full bill of *Access to Excellence* from passing on the first few go rounds. They have come to the aid of some parts of the reform, and enabled passage of reform legislation that they favored. It will be interesting to see if MEA prevails in the funding decisions that are being looked at currently or if they will take a wait-and-see attitude. The issue to watch in Minnesota is the merger of MEA with MFT. Should this happen soon, it may well be the pace-setter for the national parent organizations to also merge.

In Pennsylvania, the PSEA has successfully helped to defeat major pieces of legislation not of their liking. For twelve years, there have been no major legislated reform packages to pass the Pennsylvania House and Senate although it is difficult to attribute this solely to opposition by PSEA. In fact, they were major supporters of some pieces of legislation and of State Board regulations in regard to conditions of employment such as arbitration and fair share dues payment, staff development (Act 178), and Outcomes Based Education where they traveled the state with the Department of Education as the supporters of OBE and Strategic Planning. It will indeed be interesting to watch the results of the current foray to see whether Ridge and the School Boards Association or the PSEA and the Public Education Coalition will prevail. In sum then, the affiliate groups of NEA in the three states have been both advocates and detractors in regard to reform. It certainly seems that a case can be

made that when union members' interests are met by the reforms such as the payment of the Southeastern average salary in South Carolina; staff development allowances and site-based decision-making in Minnesota; union strengthening through arbitration and fair share dues in Pennsylvania, the NEA affiliates have good reasons to be advocates for change and are.

Unionism has lessened in this country over the last several years, yet membership in NEA affiliates and Federation of Teachers groups has continued to rise. All three of the states under study have moved politically to the right since this study began as demonstrated by voter preference for conservative office-holders. This is consistent with the whole nation. Combining these two factors means that the atmosphere for reform will continue to provide interest and tensions for some time to come. Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, it would seem advisable for governors and legislators who want to make their marks on improving education, to figure out ways in which the NEA affiliate group in their states could be accommodated and coopted into support. In some parlance, that would provide a "win/win" situation. While teachers as teachers may be different than teachers as union members, it is still what happens in individual classrooms that will determine if our plea has been answered and our children are being better taught. Legislated reform will continue to occur periodically; education will stay dynamic and fluid; the cast of actors will change regularly on the stages of organizations and politics. While it might be helpful if teachers and their associations were engaged on the positive side of the legislated-reforms, there are no guarantees that improvement will take place or last as

a result. With the shift to the right, a sense of moral indignation will rise in the legislative halls which may make the educational reform bills ebb and flow in yet another wave. Unionism is not high on the list of accepted ways of coalescing in the more conservative drift of the tides of politics. It would seem that the NEA and the AFT may merge to become the levee on the front against which that political tide will hit.

When I first started this study in the early part of 1988 with my visit to NEA's Watts, I had no way of knowing that it would cover 3/4 of an era. Serrendipitously, I have been at this project long enough that it offers a baseline and sufficient time and events to assess shifts. My own experience in public schools has been broadened by several administrative positions in a district in much need of improvement. I have traveled to South Carolina and Minnesota twice each for purposes of discovery. Washington, D.C. has been my destination on numerous visits and at least three times for this paper. I have been in several locations in Pennsylvania as I sought to unveil the reform efforts of this state and its Education Association affiliate. National conventions of ECS in Baltimore, AASA in New Orleans, and NSBA in many cities have also been on my tours of events where I could find willing discussants about educational reform. What I have seen and heard allows me to conclude that our current preoccupation with making education better is not misguided. Our solutions may be, but our absorption is not. While the Commission on Excellence proposed some solutions that have not yet been integrated throughout this country and some doubtful solutions to our national education crisis, they were correct that ours is "a

nation at risk" with an "imperative for educational reform". It is not clear even yet to me that we have understood what it is we as a people are seeking. In our current wave of reform we are seeking standards, but like the proverbial average those standards do not seem to exist as a common set. As a nation, we seem to be a conglomerate of fixers. We want to fix our country and the rest of the world, but we can not agree about where and how it is broken or how we want to put it together. Education is one of the broken pieces, and it is one about which we can agree in the generic but not in the specific. Complex problems, complex relationships, and uncertain answers seem destined to be part of the human endeavor. Education as one of those endeavors offers up its complexity of problems, relationships, and answers. Can we legislate improvement? We can establish policy and funding through legislation. As demonstrated by South Carolina, we can even legislate discreet factors of schooling. Minnesota has shown us that we can legislate choices, but like the proverbial horse lead to water, we can't make people drink the choices. Yet at the end of the day, do these legislated changes mean better education for our children? What is meant by "teach our children better"? Are we as a people seeking an improved quality of life by improving schooling? If so, do the numbers of graduates or higher scores on discreet tests tell us that the quality of life is better? I think not! With the duality of teacher union members that this study has revealed, we can see that the plea for better education for our children is not always at the top of the union agenda anymore than at the top of elected officials' agendas. The "Plea" comes from many voices who mean many different things by "better". The plea reverberates. Can we teach our children

better? Of course we can. Can we do so to make the world a better place? We can hope so.

APPENDIX 1: NEA PROJECT STATUS REPORT

During the eight months that the NEA project has been underway, much research has been initiated. In addition to reading many of the so-called *reform* reports, books, articles, and current media accounts of teacher involvement in the *reform* movement, several on-site field studies have been undertaken.

2-9-88: (Washington, D.C.) Interview with Dr. Gary Watts, NEA Assistant Executive Director for Professional Development

In a three hour discussion, Dr. Watts reviewed the history of the teaching profession, NEA's evolution, and the status of the current *reform* movement. He suggested avenues of research as well as specific people and places to see. Based on this initial interview, a working relationship was established at NEA along with access to state affiliate groups under the aegis of Watts' office.

February through June: Much research via reading was done. The results of this will be woven into the final book. Through this research, initial states to study were selected. The criteria used for selection of sites included:

1. Level of unionism of the state (strong to weak)
2. Degree of educational *reform* undertaken through government action (through either legislation or mandation.)
3. Frequency of citation in literature as a locus of *reform*.
4. Accessibility to interviewees (i.e. receptivity of significant players to meeting

with researchers.)

5. Regional location
6. Demographic and/or economic base of state

Based on these criteria, **South Carolina** (weak union, maximum level of *reform*, high frequency of citation, very willing interviewees, southern state, agricultural and textile industrial base;) **Minnesota** (strong union, strong legislative involvement, high frequency of citation, willing interviewees, mid-western region, agricultural and mining industrial base;) and **Pennsylvania** (strong union, minimal *reform*, infrequent citation, willing state officials and reluctant local Education Association, northeastern state, industrial and agricultural) were selected as initial locations.

South Carolina and Minnesota were each visited for several days during the summer months. The visits proved to be very fruitful and resulted in several taped interviews of key policy-actors in the state's respective *reform* efforts. One person would indicate another who would then lead to another. All told, there are twenty-four such interviews which are in process of being transcribed for future analysis. Likewise, each week, some new and interesting document is sent to us from our sources in these and other states.

Columbia, South Carolina (July 24-27, 1988)

South Carolina enacted a comprehensive education *reform* package in 1984. All of the interviews conducted revolved around an understanding of the E.I.A.

(Educational Improvement Act) and the involvement of the teachers' organizations with its enactment and implementation. Those interviews included:

- Former Governor and originator of the E.I.A., Richard Riley
- Executive Director, South Carolina Education Association, Joe Grant
- Executive Director, South Carolina Schools Boards Assoc., John Cone
- State Superintendent of Education, Dr. Charlie Williams
- Executive Director, Palmetto State Teachers' Association, Dr. Elizabeth Gresette
- State Legislator, Honorable Crosby Lewis
- Member of staff, Department of Education, Division of Public Accountability, Dr. Jerry Salisbury

Materials gathered included a number of publications about EIA, an unpublished doctoral dissertation about S. C. teacher attitudes, local news articles, internal documents of the SCEA and the Department of Education.

Minneapolis/St.Paul, Minnesota (August 29 to September 2, 1988)

An extraordinary educational *reform* entitled "OPEN ENROLLMENT" is taking place in Minnesota right now. A system by which almost every student in Minnesota's public schools may go to the school of his/her choice, "Open Enrollment" was the subject of several interviews conducted in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The interviewees included:

1. Dr. Curtis Johnson, Executive Director, Citizens League
2. Dan Loritz, Deputy Chief of Staff, Governor's Office
3. Larry Wicks, Executive Director, MEA
4. Walt Munsterman, Vice President, MEA
5. Judy Schaubach, Secretary/Treasurer, MEA
6. Barry Sullivan, Government Relations, Department of Education
7. Loni Kawamura, Commissioner, State Planning Agency
8. Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis Federation of Teachers and Vice President of the Minnesota A.F.T.
9. Dr. Ruth Randall, Minnesota Commissioner of Education
10. Sen. Jerome Hughes, President of State Senate
11. Dr. Ken Peatross, Director, Minnesota Board of Teachers
12. Sen. Randy Peterson, Chairman Senate Education Finance Committee
13. Prof. Ted Kolderie, Senior Fellow, Hubert Humphrey Institute
14. George Dahl, Member, Minneapolis School Board

A major focus of all of these discussions was the involvement or non-involvement of the MEA in the process and implementation of the "*reform*" and what role they are actually playing.

Bucknell University, Pennsylvania School Boards

Annual Conference, July 14-16, 1988

Attendance at the annual summer joint conference of the PSBA (Pennsylvania School Boards Association), PASA (Pennsylvania Association of School Administrators), and the two Principals' groups PASSP (Secondary Principals) and PSAESP (Elementary School Principals) along with the Pennsylvania Department of Education proved fruitful. The sessions attended included three which highlighted districts involved in school governance issues (Altoona, Easton, and Steel Valley) and had representations from their respective Education Associations and Administrations as well as Board members. Conversations regarding the project were held with the following:

- PSEA local presidents of each of the foregoing districts
- PSBA Executive Director, Joe Oravitz
- PASA Executive Director, Stinson Stroup
- PASSP/PAESP Executive Director, Frank Manchester
- Numerous local School board Members
- Several District School Superintendents
- Researchers from Pennsylvania Department of Education

**Education Commission of the States, Annual Conference,
Baltimore (8/10-13/88)**

The ECS which is an interstate compact composed of governors, legislators and their policy aides, chief state school officers, members of state boards of education and other appointed commissioners helps state leaders improve the quality of education. Conversations and/or interviews were held with the following attendees: Chris Pipho, Director of ECDS Clearinghouse and a nationally known scholar and expert on *reform*

- Dr. Terry Peterson, South Carolina designer of EIA (unavailable at time of S.C. trip who agreed to meet with us in Baltimore)
- Pennsylvania Secretary of Education, Thomas Gilhool who has agreed to see us in Harrisburg or an in-depth interview
- Several significant players in the Minnesota *reform* with whom subsequent in-depth interviews were held in their home state.

There were opportunities which were taken to hear several noted experts on educational *reform*. A partial list includes: TedSizer, John Goodlad, Governor Rudy Perpich of Minnesota; David Kearns, CEO of Xerox; James Duffy, President of ABC; Donald Peterson, CEO of Ford Motors plus Chester Finn, Assistant Secretary of Education (US Dept) and E.D. Hirsch author of Cultural Literacy. Additionally, several meetings presented by representatives of NEA and AFT were held. Tapes of these sessions were acquired for further study.

Future Plans: The next several months will be spent in the transcription and analysis

of the interviews, and a review of materials and issues gathered from the foregoing field experiences. Also Pennsylvania will be more thoroughly investigated.

This report was submitted by: Phyllis F. Catz, Research Assistant to Dr. Charles Perry.

APPENDIX 2: NEA PROJECT PROTOCOL

What are the positions of your organization on the following educational issues:

1. The "*reform* Movement" in general?
 - a) the Carnegie Report?
 - b) President's Commission (*A Nation at Risk*)?
 - c) other reports (i.e. Goodlad, Boyer, *et al*)?
2. Retraining via use of such methods as: a) Hunter's EEI?
 - b) Pacing or time on task?
3. Book censorship?
4. Merit Pay and Career Ladders?
5. Certification?
6. Teacher competencies testing?
Student competencies testing?
7. Curriculum innovation and/or implementation?
8. Procedures for teacher evaluations?
9. Union impact on school quality?
10. Class size?
11. Issues of teacher autonomy?
12. Likely sites for field study of the above issues?

Prepared February 1988

APPENDIX 3: PROTOCOL FOR INTERVIEWS FOR SOUTH CAROLINA

(AUGUST 25-27, 1988)

1. Define *reform*. (Discuss *A Nation at Risk*.)
2. Describe educational *reform* in South Carolina. (Key elements)
Identify impetus for *reform* in S.C.
3. Discuss teacher associations involvement:
 - a. South Carolina Education Association
 - b. Palmetto State Teachers' Association
 - c. South Carolina Federation of Teachers
4. Clarification of EIA (Educational Improvement Act)
5. Specifics of EIA provisions for your organization.
6. Statewide incentive plan/career ladder/merit pay.
7. Explanation of state tax and use. (*What the Penny Buys*)
8. State equalization of educational funds
9. What needed to be *reformed*?
10. School governance issues
11. Involvement of your organization in *reform*.
12. Relationship to NEA/SCEA?
13. Difference between current governor and former governor in educational issues.
14. Accomplishments of EIA/measurements of success?
15. Teacher assessments?
16. What's next in *reform* of S.C.?

17. Nature of "profession"?
18. Schools or districts to visit?
19. Who else to see?
20. Additional clarification questions germane to particular individuals or their organizations.

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEWS

MINNESOTA	
Interview	Background
Jerome Hughes, President of MN Senate 8/29/88	Senator Hughes had served for more than twenty years in the Minnesota legislature when I spoke to him. He had given much thought to and written about the improvement of education. I met him at the Baltimore ECS and then met with him again in his offices in Minnesota. As someone who also teaches college courses in education, he exhibited a broad base of knowledge and thought. It was his contention that we have not yet really identified the problems of education. One interesting distinction that he made was the difference between "schooling" and "education" as in 'I am a <i>school</i> teacher or <i>building</i> principal' instead of putting the emphasis on 'I teach/educate children.'
Phil Janni, Business Mgr., MN Citizens League 10/21/95	Phil Janni had served with the Citizens League for all of the years that my study covers and thus was able to reflect back on the involvement of his organization at the beginning of the Minnesota reforms at which I was looking. We held our discussion at the conclusion of a legislative breakfast held for one of the Citizens League committees to which a state senator and state representative spoke about current educational reform efforts in their legislature. Since I had attended a similar function on my 1988 visit, it was enlightening to do the same again. On my first visit, I had been the guess of the President of Minneapolis F.T.; this second invitation came from the V.P. of MEA.
Alice Johnson, MN Legislator, DFL, Chair of Education Finance Committee Apr. 1995	Representative Johnson, Chair of a powerful sub-committee was involved at the point at which I met her with shepherding an omnibus K-12 budget bill through the Minnesota legislature. She graciously invited me to sit on the floor of the House for one full session, an experience that was new and exciting to me. The perspective one gains sitting amidst the legislators rather than in the gallery gave me a whole new view of law-making. Alice Johnson and I talked on the floor of the House in snatches of conversation and then in a follow-up session in her office the next day.
Curt Johnson, Exec Dir., Minnesota Citizens League 10/2/88 and Chairman of the Metropolitan District of Minneapolis 4/24/95 (2nd interview)	On both of my visits to Minnesota, Curt Johnson was the last person I interviewed. My first visit to him was in a little office where we discussed the nature of his then current organization's involvement in reform. Our second meeting took place in a more elegant office setting where he now holds forth as one of the few directors of a metropolitan district. This year I read an article in the <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> about the concept of the city-state which was co-authored by Curt Johnson. In the intervening years between my visits, he also served as the Governor's Chief of Staff. Thus he was able to give me a wide range of information from several perspectives.

MINNESOTA	
Interview	Background
Loni Kawamura, Commissioner of MN State Planning Agency 8/31/88	Loni's original position had been as an education policy advisor to then-Governor Rudy Perpich. As such, she had helped to develop the strategies for enacting the 'Open Enrollment' and 'Post-secondary Options' of the Minnesota reforms. In fact she had helped to devise the entire reform package and had even helped to write the Governor's speeches about his reforms. When I met up with her, she was a general policy advisor and was using some of what they had learned in that education program to apply to other of the Governor's initiatives.
Leroy Koppendraye, MN Legislator (R), member of Education Committee 4/95	Rep. Koppendraye characterized himself as a farmer who had come to the legislature. He was one of two legislators I heard speak at a Citizens League Breakfast. Many of his views are quite conservative. While visiting in the House, I heard him debate an amendment that he was putting forth that would change funding dramatically in Minnesota for education. Not only did I capture his breakfast comments and his debate presentation on tape, I also interviewed him in his offices.
Dan Loritz, Chief of Staff to the Governor, MN (former negotiator for the MEA) 9/1/88	Dan Loritz was the highest official to whom I spoke on Governor Perpich's staff. He described the anatomy of the education reform strategies that Perpich put through to me. As Chief of Staff to the Governor, he was privy to the ideas and strategies behind the reforms.
Mary McBee, Principal of Central High School in St. Paul 4/24/95	Principal McBee is the leader of an inner-city school. She was very knowledgeable about the front-line practices of the reforms and had served as a curriculum director prior to becoming a principal. She shared ideas and materials with me, and introduced me to several teachers in her building.
Walt Munsterman, MEA Vice Pres. and Judy Schaubach, MEA Sec/Treas (8/31/88) and then President of MEA 4/21/95	This duo was introduced to me at the MEA headquarters by the Executive Director and spent time with me together answering my inquiries. They seemed very forthright and shared a very important perspective for my study. Upon my return, almost seven years later, I was delighted to find that Judy had become the President of MEA. Again I was able to interview her as well as hear her speak at the MFT convention where a merger with MEA was being voted upon.
Ken Peatross, MN Teachers Licensing Board 8/30/88	Having met Ken Peatross at the Baltimore ECS where he had introduced me to several other Minnesotans, I made certain to visit with him when I traveled to Mn in '88. The Teachers' Licensing Board was housed in the same building as the Department of Education, although it is a separate entity. As a long-term career educator, Ken had a vantage point to years of Minnesota's plans.

MINNESOTA	
Interview	Background
Randy Peterson, Senator MN State and Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee 8/30/88	Senator Peterson was suggested to me by several other informants as someone who knew much about the Minnesota reforms. He and I met in his legislative offices where he unfolded the story of Minnesota's efforts to improve education to me, and told me of some of his efforts to get people focused on the educational outcomes they were seeking.
Sandy Peterson, President of MN Federation of Teachers 4/21/95	I interviewed Sandy at the end of the annual MFT convention at which there had been an unanimous vote of the three hundred plus delegates to proceed with merger with the MEA. She has been the president through the years that I have been covering although I had not met her on my first round.
Larry Pogemiller, (DFL) Chair, MN Senate Ed Committee 4/21/95	Senator Pogemiller met with me in his office while the Senate was in session. During the course of our interview the buzzer for him to go and vote went off at least nine times. The remarkable thing was that he would leave to vote and return and pick up mid-sentence without any prompting from me. He seems to be an extraordinarily bright and thoughtful young man who is leading the Senate education committee into a philosophical and policy-making stance that is contrasted with the more discreet House legislation.
Linda Powell, MN Commissioner of Education 4/24/95	Commissioner Powell had had to cancel her scheduled interview appointment with me because an important bill was being debated on the House floor. I had stayed over through the weekend primarily to meet with her, although I had lucked into the MFT convention and a visit by President Clinton to Minneapolis as a result of staying. Still I was disappointed until her secretary armed me with a photo of the Commissioner, and sent me off to the gallery of the House. We had our interview in an anteroom of that chamber during a vote tabulation.
Ruth Randall, MN Commissioner of Education, 9/2/88	Commissioner Randall had invited me to visit her in Minnesota when I met her in Baltimore at ECS. I took her up on that, and spent some time with her in her office. Like some of the others to whom I spoke, she went out of her way to meet with me. She was on her way to catch an airplane the day we spoke, and had detoured to her office just to conduct her session with me. Her perspective was invaluable since she was one of the architects of the Minnesota reforms of the time. Having served as a superintendent prior to becoming the first appointed commissioner, she had an interesting perspective. She wrote to me after she left office, in fact the state, to offer to give me more information should I desire it.

MINNESOTA	
Interview	Background
Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis FT and V.P. of MFT 8/30/88 (interview) Pres. of Minneapolis FT, and V.P. of MFT and AFT 4/21/95 (speech to AFT Convention)	Louise was one of my most generous informants. Both times that I encountered her she took me with her to interesting events. On our first meeting in '88 we met in her Minneapolis offices then traveled together to a Minneapolis School Board Meeting followed by a tour of the city and then a Citizens League discussion meeting on desegregation and charter schools. In '95, I called her and she invited me to meet her at the hotel where the MFT was holding its convention. I spent Friday evening and all day Saturday as her guest at the convention where I spoke to many, many teachers. Louise made sure that I met others who could help me with my study. In the intervening years between our meetings, she had become a national Vice President for AFT and thus was able to share some of that perspective with me as well.
Larry Wicks, Exec. Dir MEA (Director since 3/87) 8/31/88 (1st interview) 4/20/95 (2nd interview)	Larry Wicks had been the Executive Director of MEA for just a little more than a year the first time we met; by our second visit he was a veteran of almost nine years. In both of our sessions he provided me with much material and access to MEA officers. I was glad to be able to have his point-of-view on both occasions.
Teacher, American History, Central High School, St. Paul (building representative for the FT union) 4/24/95	I taped this interview in the faculty smoking area of the HS after having been introduced to this teacher by the principal. As a union activist, he held some very clear points-of-view that were not sustained by some of his peers who he introduced me to in the non-smoking faculty lounge. They were much more interested in the protection and salary issues that the union helped to provide than in anything else that the union could do.
Jean Thomas, Vice President, MEA 4/20/95	Jean represented a job-alike person. When unable to repeat my interviews with the same persons as I had met in '88, I attempted to meet job-a-likes. Having interviewed the VP of MEA on my first round, I was pleased that Ms. Thomas would talk to me. She and I had a long conversation and then she graciously invited me to join her the next morning for a Citizens League breakfast. This duplicated an '88 experience where my host to a meeting of that group had been the President of the Minneapolis FT.

NATIONAL	
Interview	Background
Robert Barkley, Manager, Center for Innovation NEA, Washington, DC 10/7/95	Bob Barkley, while not exactly a job-alike for Gary Watts who has retired, does help to run the Center for Innovation which is the successor to the "Mastery in Learning" project that Watts had headed. This interview seemed to me at the time to be exactly the right one to conclude my process since he was able to put the reform movement and the NEA into its current perspective for me. The Watts' interview had been the very first one I held as I was thinking about this subject. Barkley was able to share the development of the NEA's position on reform with me which has shifted since I began my inquiries. He also validated some of my findings in regard to the three states I had selected to study.
Thomas Payzant, Secretary of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dept. of Ed. Washington, DC 3/27/95	Tom Payzant was my former boss; he hired me as a part-time high school teacher in 1973 when he was a 28 year old superintendent of a suburban Philadelphia school district. Based on his recollection of that, he made time in a very busy schedule to see me at his office. Although he was called to an important conference with Secretary Riley before we could conclude our session, he was able to give me some statements regarding the national view of reform as seen from the Department of Education's standpoint.
Chris Pipho, Executive Director, Education Commission of the States (ECS) and frequent contributor to <i>Kappan</i> 8/10/88	Chris Pipho was very helpful in my narrowing of the state sites to study in the reform movement. As a person involved with the Education Commission of the States, he had explored much that was going on around the country as I began my studies. He was able to validate my choices.
Gary Watts, Ass't Exec. Director NEA/DC 2/88	Dr. Charles Perry, Dr. Nancy Bauer, and I had visited with Watts when I first began the work on this project. It was after our conversation, that we concluded that this was a valid line of inquiry. Watts has now retired, but I was able to follow-up with two of his colleagues in '95 (R. Barkley and R. McClure) who had taken on his mantle of reform.

PENNSYLVANIA	
Interview	Background
Thomas Gilhool, former Secretary of Education (1987-89) under Governor Robert Casey 10/31/95 (in his law office)	I had met and spoken to Gilhool several times informally. The first time we had talked had been at 1988 Bucknell Joint Pennsylvania Educators Conference. Several times since then we had been at events together, but I had not committed his comments to the formal interview process. He agreed to do so in his Public Interest Law Office in Philadelphia. We spoke for more than two and a half hours as he was very pleased to tell me about his years as Secretary. Since his tenure matches the baseline date of this study, he was precisely the correct person to engage. He lead me to several other names from that era including the former president of PSEA and some legislators who are still in Harrisburg.
John Yarnovic, former President of PSEA (1987-91) 11/6/95 (via phone from his home in McKeesport, PA)	Gilhool had recommended Yarnovic as a very knowledgeable and reform-minded person. Yarnovic, like Gilhool was pleased to discuss his tenure and the cooperation that PSEA and PDE enjoyed under Gilhool
David Gondak, current President of PSEA 11/7/95 (via phone)	Gondak was very willing to discuss PSEA's current roles in reform and to answer my protocol of questions. Both he and Yarnovic allowed me to tape our phone conversations. I had tried to meet Gondak at a recent Valley Forge conference, but his scheduled was too packed. He actually called me when his schedule permitted him a half and hour or so to do so.
Don Atkiss, Mideastern Regional Field Director, PSEA 11/4/95 (In his office in Spring House, PA)	Don, who is the chief negotiator for the region surrounding Philadelphia, was very forthcoming in sharing his view of PSEA in regard to reform. Unlike my first encounter with that office in 1988 when they were hesitant to talk to a "School Board President" he was most gracious.
Thaddeus Kirkland, State Representative and member of the House Education Committee 12/8/95	Rep. Kirkland was re-elected for a second term in 1994 on a platform of improving education. As an African-American representing the city of Chester which has dire educational problems he was appointed to the Education Committee during his first term which is highly unusual as that committee is seen as a prime assignment. I spoke to him in his Chester office
Michael Young, Professor of Politics and Political Research at Penn State, Harrisburg Campus 12/15/95	Dr. Young was interviewed on the local NPR radio station this AM and I awoke to his commentary about legislated reform in PA. He spoke of the teachers' union's impact on the defeat of Ridge's K.I.D.S. II. I researched his locale since he had only been identified as a political analyst from Penn State. He returned my phone call since as he said he remembered "being in extremis" prior to his dissertation defense.

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	Background
John Cone, Executive Director of the SC School Boards Assoc. 7/25/95	As the executive director of the School Boards Association in South Carolina, Mr. Cone was able to articulate their view of the EIA and the involvement of the teachers' groups. He had a definite view of the SCEA as an activist organization which he shared with me.
Sheila Gallagher, President SCEA 3/28/95	In my first visit to SC, I had not been able to meet the president of SCEA. Sheila, however, made herself available to me in her office. I met up with her two more times during my stay: once at a Senate Education committee hearing where she was testifying, and once again at a special presentation to a group of nationally Board-certified Teachers that was made by the joint Senate/House Education Committees.
Joe Grant, Executive Director, South Carolina EA (first African-American to hold this position and formerly the chief lobbyist for SCEA) 7/26/88	Joe Grant was the first African-American to hold the position of Executive Director of SCEA. He was a lobbyist for them during the EIA passage. His first-hand knowledge of how the legislation had been passed was very helpful. He, personally, was characterized to me by a few others of my informants. Just as the view of SCEA differed dependent on who was telling me about it, Joe Grant engendered very different reactions.
Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association 7/25/88 (1st interview) 3/28/95 (2nd interview)	Dr. Gressette was one of the people I was fortunate enough to spend time with on both of my trips to SC. As the Director of the independent teachers' group that she helped to start, she was able to give me some valuable information. Also she served as a member of Riley's special committee that helped to bring about the EIA and continues to sit on the oversight committee to this day.
Crosby Lewis, Chairman, SC Legislative Oversight Committee for EIA, (D) 7/88 (1st interview) Former Legislator, South Carolina 3/95 (2nd interview)	Governor Riley had originally arranged for me to meet Crosby Lewis on my first visit. At that time he was a legislator who was intimately involved with the EIA and its maintenance. On my second trip, he was willing to meet with me again. By now he had returned to private law practice and his view was now more of the informed and interested citizen instead of as a politician. As was often the case throughout all of my travels, other interviews resulted from my meeting with one person. Lewis introduced me to his law partner who is a current legislator (Tim Rogers) who then made an appointment with me.

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	Background
<p>Terry Peterson, Director of S.C. Business Partnership Committee and Governor's Aide (Interviewed at the Education Commission for the States, Baltimore) 8/12/88 (1st interview) Assistant to the Secretary of Education, Washington, DC 3/27/95 (2nd interview)</p>	<p>Peterson, who was designated by several other informants as a major architect of the Education Improvement Act, met me for our first interview in Baltimore because he had been unavailable to see me when I had visited SC the previous month. Gov. Riley had urged me to talk to Peterson who he clearly trusted and valued. The tape of that first interview was defective so no direct quotes from it are possible, but I was able to reconstruct some of our conversation from notes and listening to the defective tape many times.</p> <p>I had tried to get an audience with Riley now that he is Secretary of Education, but that proved to be very difficult. Riley's scheduler suggested I meet with his assistant, and I was pleased to discover that she meant Terry Peterson since that provided another repeat interviewee.</p>
<p>James Petrie, Exec. Director SCEA 3/95</p>	<p>Petrie is the successor to Joe Grant who was interviewed on the first round. He has only been in SC for a short time having come from Florida's EA. He was able to supply a job-alike point-of-view and to look at the reforms as they exist now.</p>
<p>Pamela Pritchard, Special Assistant for Education Initiatives, S.C. Dept. of Education (referred to her by State Superintendent of Education) 3/31/95</p>	<p>The State Superintendent was either unable or unwilling to meet with me. Her office suggested that Ms. Pritchard might be the right person with whom to talk. As a very significant player on the Superintendent's team, Pam turned out to be very informative about reform as viewed by the Department of Education. She had worked in the Department when the previous Superintendent Charlie Williams had been there. She was able to shed light on the changes in the two administrations.</p>
<p>Richard Riley, former governor of SC and now Secretary of Education 7/2788</p>	<p>I was very fortunate in that Riley was willing to meet with me. I was struck by his gentle manner and kindness. He cleared some other appointments so that we could chat. As the designated "impetus" for SC's educational reform, he was the best source for describing the process he had used. He helped me to get several other interviews. I was particularly pleased to hear that Riley had become the Secretary of Education for the US under President Clinton since I believed he would bring a humane attitude and reform ideas to his position.</p>
<p>Tim Rogers, S.C. Representative (now Crosby Lewis's law partner, he was an original EIA proponent) (D) 3/31/95</p>	<p>Rep. Rogers who was a new legislator in the 1984 session when the SC EIA was passed. He regaled me with tales of how that had been. The day I met with him in his office, he was quite concerned by the new Republican majority's raid on the penny that had been dedicated to EIA. He offered candid assessments of the SCEA both in prior years and currently.</p>

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	Background
Nicky Setzler, S.C. Senator, Chairman of Education Committee (D) and Ellen Sills, Legislative Assistant 3/29/95 (in SC Senate Chambers lobby)	Senator Setzler and his aide, Ellen Sills met with me while the senate was in session. So in a noisy anteroom, I talked alternately to the two of them. Setzler was optimistic about the ability of the Senate to reverse the erosion of the penny that the House had voted to divert. Since both of them had worked in the senate during 1984, they were able to give me some historic perspectives.
Dorothy Turberville, Principal of Hand Middle School, Columbia, SC 3/30/95	Dr. Turberville had been a staff developer, a curriculum director, and a special educator prior to becoming a principal. She is on several committees at the SC Department of Education and was knowledgeable about legislation. She provided a practitioner's viewpoint on the reforms in SC and introduced me to four members of her teaching staff who also provided their views.
Larry Wilsford, Consultant to the Business Partnership and Superintendent of the Year 3/31/95	Wilsford was suggested to me by Terry Peterson and Curt Johnson. Basically he works with the same group that had helped to originate the EIA. As a long-time SC educator, he had much to offer about the successes and failures of the reforms
Faculty Members, Hand Middle School in Columbia, SC 3/30/95	Four faculty members met with me during their "free period" or lunchtime. One was a member of Palmetto, two were members of SCEA, and one had dropped his membership and was unaffiliated at the time. They ranged in experience from four to thirty years and provided a microcosm of teacher viewpoints.

APPENDIX 5: DEFINITIONS AND IMPETUS OF REFORM

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Jerome Hughes, President of MN Senate 8/29/88	<p>"If I say <i>reform</i>, if I tell you how to reform, what does that mean? It's a bad word. Move is different. And so then, when you're going to reform something, you have to come down from the top like Secretary Bennett or the governor of this state and then they're going to correct something by executive bill writing or something, and the legislatures will fund it and will get it going"</p> <p>"In my opinion , 97% of what you're going to do is to figure out the problem; 3% is doing it. I submit to you that the people in education generally, and this may sound sort of pedantic when I say it, have not figured out what the problem is. Therefore, they're having difficulty coming up with a solution."</p>	<p>The governor here. "But he stills wants some A, B. C thing to do."</p> <p>"Our governor talks about our state as a 'brainpower' state. I see Minnesota as a learning community."</p>
Phil Janni, Business Mgr., MN Citizens League 10/21/95	<p>"Reforming now is less about changing the system and less about pushing on the system with the post-secondary options, the second chance, the open enrollment, the charter schools, and ways to free the system up, as much as it is now on the funding."</p>	<p>The Citizens Leagues members include a wide variety of stakeholders who have had much input in improving Minnesota.</p>
Alice Johnson, MN Legislator, 4/95	<p>That which "causes our children to be world-class competitors."</p> <p>"Reform for the sake of reform is only change. Change in itself is not good. If you improved something, that's good. Reform should raise expectations <u>and</u> accomplishments."</p>	<p>"I see the reform in Minnesota being driven by special interests, that being business and Republicans."</p> <p>"I consider the legislature, especially the people on the education committees in the House and Senate, to be the leading advocates for education in the state of Minnesota."</p>

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Curt Johnson, Exec Dir., Minnesota Citizens League 10/2/88 (1st interview)		Governor Rudy Perpich: "At the Citizens League meeting in early '85, he announced his education agenda for the legislative session, and he just absolutely blew the socks off the establishment because he called for all this stuff..." "Well, I think that [economics] is what is going to continue to drive it [education reform movement] because the continued slippage in real income for people whose expectations are still high but whose skills are still low just reinforces the message that nobody can expect good income in the future without a reasonably good education that includes being adaptive, includes the capacity to continue learning past the first or second or third grade..."
Curt Johnson, Chairman of the Metropolitan District of Minneapolis 4/24/95 (2nd interview)	"Very simply, making the changes it takes to get dramatically different results...I don't mean tinkering with the systems...changing whatever we have to change, running whatever risks we have to run to get different results."	Coalitions of citizens and the governor have provided impetus
Loni Kawamura, Commissioner of MN State Planning Agency 8/31/88	Reform and strategy for it: "Now the final question in my opinion is 'Was this the best strategy?' Try the whole thing all at once, lose bits and pieces of it and then regain part of it over the years. I've thought long and hard about this because as glorious as it was to do this, rarely do you have the chance to work on as radical a policy as this was and to have it blazoned all over the newspapers and have people talk about it and have the governor's undying support for this. ...You can not make a change in as big an elephant as public education without proposing something dramatic, then pulling back and providing leadership in negotiating out something that all sides can live with eventually.."	The governor did this.

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Leroy Koppendraye MN Legislator, 4/95	Coalition for Educational Reform (CERA) is for policy making instead of politics... Educators have to cope with what the legislators do... I see us at a crossroads in education. We are either going to go towards more local control or state controls."	"I have done agricultural consulting in 11 countries in the last few years. This country is at a crossroads. We're in a global economy. The kids in St Paul aren't competing with the kids in Minneapolis for jobs; they're competing with the kids in Hong Kong and Tokyo. Our standard of living depends on how we compete with the rest of the world."
Dan Loritz, Chief of Staff to the Governor, MN 9/1/88	"The way I feel about educational reform is somebody made a list of all the known problems, states started passing solutions and when the solutions exceeded the known problems, it was over. I think Reagan announced that the schools had been repaired after The Nation at Risk."	The Republicans had taken over the house and there's a Democratic governor, Rudy Perpich. "It's the fall of 1984 and the governor says 'Listen, we got to find a new way to do this education stuff. It's not working...I've concluded three things. 1. You can't make them do it. 2 We can't afford to pay for them to do it. 3. Let's let them go to the colleges and universities to take courses' "
Mary McBee, Principal of Central High School, St. Paul 4/24/95	"I would define it in terms of activities, programs, directions that either the district or the state would set in order to better meet the needs of students...new initiatives to raise our achievement gap."	
Walt Munsterman, MEA VP and Judy Schaubach, MEA Sec/Treas 8/31/88	Walt: "Now the emphasis on reform is the delivery system for education to do a better job with students." Judy: "...we're focusing on making sure that all students have access to the full breadth of curriculum"	Walt: "The governor's committee"

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Ken Peatross, MN Teachers Licensing Board 8/30/88	"Historically we know what it is (reform), but within the last decade or so, reform seems to have taken on the aspect of some sort of an ill-defined but yet pressing concern on the part of the general public, that as we move ahead into the 21st century, somehow or other we haven't given the proper attention. We need to in terms of what is learning, what is teaching, what do we need to do in order to enhance opportunities for young people in modern society, particularly I think in economic terms."	"It's probably an economically driven phenomenon...it has become the province of the governors, legislators, a combination thereof, and it's on political agendas, and it's come down in terms of legislative agenda, enacted into law, reflected in terms of changes in curriculum; changes in the way persons are prepared; various measures primarily in accountability, and so forth."
Randy Peterson, Senator MN State 8/30/88	"To me the reform stuff talks about structural changes made to support some identified goal and the problem that I really had with all of the talk about reform is people right away start wanting to change the organizational structure or give somebody responsibility for this or that or whatever without ever stopping to ask why they want to do any of it." "If we do nothing more in the next year than cultivate in the minds of some sort of a critical mass of people this notion that look, we can actually figure out what we want to do here and actually start making sure that we're doing it; we will have accomplished a tremendous amount towards educational reform I think."	"...to start looking more systematically at a lot of these questions that keep coming up and up and up."

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Sandra Peterson, President of MN Federation of Teachers 4/21/95	"The definition of reform changes from day to day. There's a whole lot of rhetoric about educational reform and for many people...it means turning everything upside down and absolutely throwing out everything that's currently there...I don't think that's really what it's about...To me reform is looking at what will make students more successful in the classroom. If .that involves different governance systems as site based decision making, as differentiated staffing, principal or no principal, different teams, cooperative teams...all those pieces that go into different governance systems that might make it better for students." She says we have to examine the pieces of the curriculum to see if they are relevant to students' lives.	In most instances, we [MFT] initiate much of the legislative reform...We initiated the staff development reform...peer review...site decision making. I see us, the MFT and MEA together, as leaders in the forefront of every piece of meaningful legislation that is out there that effects teachers right now."
Larry Pogemiller, Chair of MN Senate Education Committee (DFL) 4/95	"We are trying to design educational systems that universally provide the tools that are necessary for people to succeed socially and economically...we need something more flexible than the bureaucracy...we are decentralizing."	"As Policy-makers, we are in a position where our responsibility is to manage this inevitable transition [from bureaucracy to decentralized decision-making]...from a hierarchical structure to a faculty or staff empowered structure that is much more flexible and creative."
Linda Powell, MN Commissioner of Education 4/24/95	"In this state educational reform revolves around totally changing the traditional paradigm from the one we used to know to more currently meeting the needs of the kids for the future."	

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Ruth Randall, Commissioner of Education, MN 9/2/88	"I like the word <i>restructuring</i> and I don't have to call it the "R" word because I really believe we really need to restructure and I think it's probably part of the reason that I was chosen as the Commissioner because we were probably doing a lot of talking about that and doing some of that work out in the school district where I was superintendent."	"I often introduce Rudy Perpich as an education governor." "There have been some shifts in coalitions. After '85 the two teacher unions, the two principals' groups, the superintendents, and the School Boards Association formed a group called 'Six M' and still sat on the Governor's discussion group with the outside reformers. The outside reformers: "Business Partnership, People for Better Schools, Public School Incentive, Hubert Humphrey Institute, Public Service Redesign, Citizen's League, PTA"
Judy Schaubach, President of MEA 4/21/95	"I define educational reform as initiatives that really will improve on not only student performance but also how we operate our schools, working conditions as well as learning conditions. Just because something is new or different doesn't mean it's reform."	
Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis FT and Vice Pres of MFT, 8/30/88 (1st interview)	"The AFT defines the reform as school-based school reform and the desired result is a restructuring of individual school sites and a restructuring of districts to decentralize and to place the decision-making power at the site where the children are...That would require tipping the bureaucracy upside down..." "Professionalizing teaching [is an AFT reform thrust] Rudy Perpich translates reform into open enrollment, and I do not agree..."	AFT is part of the impetus for "school-based school reform through legislation and politics" PELRA (Public Employees Labor Relations Act) resulted after a 1971 Minneapolis teacher strike.

MINNESOTA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis FT, and Vice President of MFT and AFT Speech to AFT Convention 4/21/95 (2nd interview)		AFT is still on the forefront
Larry Wicks, Exec. Dir MEA in offices at St. Paul (Director since 3/87) 8/31/88 (1st interview)	"The code word that is being used now=reform" There is a "confluence of events, different groups, parents, with a different mindset and different experts, groups of students coming together with ...a lack-lustre body politic interested in public education." "I think the Nation at Risk did trigger the reforms." The media restated things and it was " the right report at the right time."	Media spin-off of the Nation at Risk Wave I: 1983-86 Wave II: Empowerment Economics and demographic problems for workers .
Larry Wicks, 4/20/95 (2nd interview)	"making changes for the betterment of student achievement"	
Teacher, American History, at Central High School in St. Paul and building representative for the union 4/24/95	"Reform today is trying to maintain the status...Educational reform is everything from the needs of students...eliminated fifty years ago to the needs of the teachers who are trying to do the job professionally."	

NATIONAL		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Robert Barkley, Manager, Center for Innovation NEA/DC 10/95	"Reform is poorly defined nationally. In my presentations, I talk about the difference between incremental and transformational change." School people and policy-makers define reform as incremental. He (personally) defines reform as transformational. "The term implies re-forming something that already is. I think it requires transformation - changing it to something else entirely." He says that what we need to reform is the purpose of education. "The purpose of education is clearly to preserve and nurture joy in learning."	Business economic interests and global competitiveness started and are sustaining reform. In other countries businesses invest in partnerships with education and continue to develop their employees after schooling. In this country "many businesses ask for finished products." The more enlightened U.S. businesses are beginning to see the value of partnership with education.
Thomas Payzant, Secretary of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dept. of Education, Washington, DC 3/27/95	"We have finally figured out that most of the reform efforts of the past have been quite narrowly-focused, categorical in nature with mixed results..." "It's no accident that there is a move for standards and assessments."	"I would argue that you can really identify three or four different phases of the reform efforts that, if you want, began in response to <i>A Nation at Risk</i> in '83. The early phases, the first or second phase were characterized by the attitude... 'We started to do some things the right way, and the effort to be made was to do more of what we thought worked well and to do it faster.' So it was toughen graduation requirements, improve teaching by tougher teacher certification standards, upgrade textbooks, lengthen the school day, school year, stabilize the dollars to invest in education... if you looked at the state reforms in the early to mid-eighties really reflected that kind of attitude. Then you begin to see a little more interest in a results focus, and begin to deal with some accountability issues and to not just dwell on the things going in on the front end but on what was coming out in terms of improved student learning. In the late eighties and early nineties, you got some variations on that which became politically charged like Outcomes Based Education.. Then with the Charlottesville Conference and the national goals and more conversations about standards and new kinds of assessments..."

NATIONAL		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Thomas Payzant (continued)		authentic assessments...began to get a broader kind of view. What Goals 200 has done is to tie the pieces together."
Chris Piphio, Executive Director, Education Commission of the States (ECS) and frequent contributor to <i>Kappan</i> 8/10/88	"I have taken a look at the reform movement in seven states [where we looked at who influenced what] plus Minnesota....When you start asking different people, you get different sides of the story." "...The other states with large reform legislation that you'll need to look at are South Carolina..." [<i>A Nation at Risk</i>] "gave us...five nails to put your hat on....do something for teachers, something about academic standards, something about a longer school day or longer school year...five sort of simple recommendations, and they were picked up by a lot of others."	"I think that the reform movement has a long history, much longer than <i>A Nation at Risk</i> talks about ...it really began in 1970 with the accountability movement and that was really growing out of a business-industry influence. "Ted Bell put together the Committee...announced the formation before Reagan even knew about it as far as I'm concerned. He did it at our Boston annual meeting (ECS) in '81 and I didn't think, I just yawned, I thought 'Oh, here we go, another Federal thing...There were 26 books or national reports that followed <i>A Nation at Risk</i> or were slightly ahead...the reform legislation in California, Florida were enacted within thirty days of The Nation at Risk release."
Gary Watts, Ass't Exec. Director NEA/DC 2/88	He discussed the "Mastery in Learning Project" which were then underway at NEA.	A lack of perceived global competitiveness may have started this era.

PENNSYLVANIA		
Interview	Define Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Thomas Gilhool, former Secretary of Education (1987-89) 10/31/95	All those things that are necessary so that every child actually learns and learns well to the top of the curriculum	Two constant constituencies for change in the schools : CEO's of major American companies and the other is governors.
John Yarnovic, former President of PSEA (1987-91) 11/6/95	Change for the betterment of education for students. I don't subscribe to Outcomes Based Education myself.	
Don Atkiss, Mideastern Regional Field Director, PSEA 11/4/95	"Systematic changes in the educational system at the school district level that will improve student performance." We're looking at new solutions	Lack of public confidence in public education....I'm skeptical that schools are doing as bad a job as they're portrayed as doing....Schools are a public business. A PSEA slogan of a number of years ago read "Public Education is Everyone's Business"...Religious right campaigns are destroying public confidence.
David Gondak, current President of PSEA 11/7/95	We are trying to do things better in the classroom....get that better end product... a better educated student and a better citizen ...use new technologies...new methods. Education Association issues are achievable...some things aren't easily achievable like smaller class size.	
Thaddeus Kirkland, Dem State Rep and member of the House Ed Com 12/8/95	...changing in some way shape or form the way we currently provide education to our children be that by way of curriculum, educators, finances, building structures and parental involvement and even the business sector.	
Michael Young, Political analyst, Harrisburg 12/15/95		Governors want to hit the national scene and education is a vehicle for doing just that. Ridge wants to reform education before he leaves office.

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	Definition of Reform	Impetus for Reforms
John Cone, Executive Director of the SC School Boards Assoc. 7/25/95	"...one level of reform is setting standards and requiring evaluations and requiring higher standards. The other part of the reform is setting up a system that will work well; a system that is assured of success..."	Question: What is it you think was the impetus for South Carolina's reform: Answer: "The Nation at Risk, that publication...which I think was the catalyst at the right time. But I think the key to the whole thing was the money; was the penny sales tax."
Sheila Gallagher, President SCEA, 3/28/95	"Reform is things that are going to make it better. I'm going to make changes. Maybe all those changes are not for the better, but then you continue with the reform to make sure you come up with the best." (Incremental change)	Governor Riley and need for economic growth.
Joe Grant, Executive Director, South Carolina EA (first African-American to hold this position and formerly the chief lobbyist for SCEA) 7/26/88	"...there needed to be some beefing-up of education systems." The reformers have led to "a thorough review of public education and a smorgasbord of proposed changes to the education system."	"We give Gov. Riley credit for that [the collaboration of SCEA and the Chamber of Commerce] because there had been, to say it kindly, friction between us and the business community."
Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association 7/25/88 (1st interview)		"You've got to have a strong education system if you're going to have business development." "Riley didn't do this for the glory of Governor Riley. He did on his way out because he believed in it."
Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association 3/28/95 (2nd interview)		Her assessment of the impetus for current reform: "It used to be like a revival meeting, but you need an evangelist for that. Our evangelist is in Washington [Richard Riley]. We don't have one here now."

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	Definition of Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Crosby Lewis, Chairman, SC Legislative Oversight Committee for EIA (D) 7/88 (1st interview)	His definition of reform is EIA.	Charlie Williams, the state superintendent "...evolution of a program for improvement that he worked on for a number of years...Governor Riley, obviously being an astute and observant chief executive officer, recognized that at some point in time during his tenure as governor that there was a need to make a major improvement in public education for South Carolina." "...if we were going to do anything about jobs in South Carolina, we had to first do something about our education program."
Crosby Lewis, former Legislator, South Carolina (2nd interview) 3/95	He defines it as EIA. He looks at the specific legislative package as the South Carolina reform.	South Carolina could not get big business interested in coming to the state or staying there because they couldn't hire skilled workers.
Terry Peterson, Director of S.C. Business Partnership Committee and Governor's Aide (Interviewed at the Education Commission for the States, Baltimore) 8/12/88 (1st interview)		"There were at least five trade-offs in the reform package"
Terry Peterson, Assistant to the Secretary of Education, Washington DC 3/27/95 (2nd interview)		"People don't realize this but the reforms were phased in after Riley was not Governor. You had the power of this kind of grass roots campaign to keep it in place, which is rare that you can do that." "...it seem like you need a governor who has to be out in front, plus you have to have a couple of legislative leaders ...plus either the state superintendent and/or local leaders like the teachers association."

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	Definition of Reform	Impetus for Reforms
James Petrie, Exec. Director SCEA 3/95	"A return or empowering of educators and members of the community who are closest to the learning environment of the student." "I don't know that 'reform' is the best term. Maybe it ought to be 'restructuring'."	"When Riley was we had an advocate at the very top of the pyramid. He used that bully pulpit to focus on the needs of kids, on the needs of communities, and the importance of education." Reform was sustained during the Campbell era by a legislature that "was still riding the crest of the good things that had gone into place." "The business community in the last two months has joined us in our outrage."
Pamela Pritchard, Special Assistant for Education Initiatives, S.C. Dept. of Education (referred to her by State Superintendent of Education) 3/31/95	"To us, educational reform is taking a look at what our goals are for the students, as far as learning standards are concerned...to determine what you want students to know and be able to do when they leave the public school system. The second step, what most people call 'the reform' is an outlining what in the system needs to change to support students achieving those learning standards."	The latest changes have come under the direction of Barbara Nielson, the state superintendent. The philosophy of this superintendent and department is you look at the goals and design the system to meet them. This is not a paternalistic mandation system.

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	Definition of Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Richard Riley, former governor of SC and now Secretary of Education July 27, 1988	"Education is the number one priority in America...when asked about education."	"When I stood back and looked at the history of this state and its makeup, education over the years had been disjointed, inadequate; our people were into farming, textile workers. The general requirements were not there for a person to get a job in South Carolina and have a strong education, consequently we ended up with a lot of people who did not have a good education, a lot of people who were illiterate adults...when I analyzed what I could do after being elected as a real long-shot governor...I realized that we were in such poor shape; we were 49th or 50th or 48th in all statistics, that we couldn't be a leader in four years." During his first term he worked on improving early childhood education in K and one. "Then I was permitted to run a second term. They had to change the Constitution and I was pleased and really in a position to really do something...I was highly identified as a pro-education governor." Anatomy of legislative act: "...we then went into it just like a political campaign, buttons and bumper stickers and TV ads and the whole thing."
Tim Rogers, S.C. Representative (now Crosby Lewis's law partner, he was an original EIA proponent) (D) 3/31/95	"Nationally and in South Carolina we have a real opportunity to enter a new debate about the importance of public education, and the time is right for that. Out of that can come a whole renewal to commitment to public education. We need to try some new things; greater flexibility is a good idea."	The original EIA came from Riley and a small core of people. The legislature micromanages like a super school board according to some. Rogers agrees that is the tradition of S.C. "It was a grand revolution: all of the education groups worked together and we had one general [Riley]"

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	Definition of Reform	Impetus for Reforms
Nicky Setzler, S.C. Senator, Chairman of Education Committee (D) and Ellen Sills, Legislative Assistant 3/29/95 (in SC Senate Chambers lobby)	Ellen: "On-going" improvement, "a journey not a destination" Nicky: "EIA" and other legislation	Coalition of teachers, school board association, administrators association, parents, business interests, and government officials.
Dorothy Turberville, Principal of Hand Middle School, Columbia, SC 3/30/95	"Same cyclical thing over the 20th century; every couple of decades we decide we aren't doing a very good job and we need to do something about it... then we look at not very new ideas and we recycle them."	
Larry Wilsford, Consultant to the Business Partnership and Superintendent of the Year, 3/31/95	"This is a better time to write about educational reform than 10 years ago." "Education has been on the move forward since I was a school boy (and I'm 61 years old)" "This reform [what the SC House is doing] is restructuring." "The American reform movement was a conservative movement- accountability and results"	"I didn't think much about the 'shot heard round the world'- <i>A Nation at Risk</i> - - if you go back ten years before that we had a huge movement to keep the dropouts in school in the 60's, we did the whole ESEA Titles 1 through 5, we did the school emergency assistance act, we integrated the schools, we brought the handicapped kids in a mainlined way, in the 80's we did teacher assessment..." "Riley with EIA catapulted this state ahead..."
Faculty Members at Hand Middle School in Columbia, SC 3/30/95	Faculty 2: To make things better and have students scores increase and more college attenders. We engaged in a discussion of the governors and property tax and education.	#3 Richard Riley #1 "We haven't talked about education much since Riley. We were on the cutting edge, but we're not anymore."

APPENDIX 6: INVOLVEMENT OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

MINNESOTA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Jerome Hughes, President of MN Senate 8/29/88	"The MEA is starting to understand it [my point-of-view about school versus learning]. Teacher preparation should be a concern for them. Because of unionism and all this organizational stuff. I'm not opposed to an organization for workers and teachers, but they have to understand why they are not professionals.
Phil Janni, Business Mgr., MN Citizens League 10/21/95	"Most of the change here has come despite the union." EA has constrained the charter school movement by influencing the legislators.
Alice Johnson, MN Legislator, DFL, Chair of Ed. Finance 4/95	"The MEA and MFT are getting beaten up. My view is they have not been strong players" [in the reforms]. "The number one agenda item for the MEA is their pensions and negotiations for salaries." That upsets some legislators.
Curt Johnson, Chairman of the Metropolitan District of Minneapolis 4/24/95 (2nd interview)	"Teacher association have tried to have it both ways: I think their credibility now is significantly less than it was at the turn of the decade...They try to take the high road [in favoring reforms for the improvement of education]...When it gets right down to it, when you analyze the behavior in legislative session after legislative session and in bargaining session after bargaining session, what they are really after is more money for the people who are making a living in the system." "MEA? That's the teacher union. That's all it is." "They still have the ability to affect the outcomes of some elections, so they are treated warily by legislators, but increasingly governors tell them to go to hell. They have lost a lot of standing with the public because they are seen as protectionistic, in it for themselves."
Loni Kawamura, Commissioner of MN State Planning 8/31/88	"I don't think the teachers' unions would have ever come on board for this [open enrollment]. I mean, in no fashion. We would have had to moderate the proposal down so much in order for it to be acceptable to the teachers' unions or to the school superintendents or to the school boards....It's not whether we do this; it's how we do it."

MINNESOTA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Leroy Koppendrayner, MN Legislator (R) member of Ed. Committee 4/95	<p>"They see their goal as obstructionists to change. Remember one thing, MEA does not mean Minnesota Education. They don't care about education. They don't exist for the cause of the betterment of children's education. They exist as a labor bargaining unit...You have to protect the weakest member you have."</p> <p>"The union says you pay by the day. We're not going to extend the day or the school year."</p> <p>"I said to one of the union lobbyists, 'You're not here for education, you're here for dues'. The MEA and the MFT have a choke-hold on the legislature."</p> <p>"The MEA last year spent \$360,000 on DFL reps running for the house. On Republican reps they spent \$16,000. The teacher unions control the legislature more than any other lobby. I'm just down here saying recognize who's pulling the strings and for whose interest."</p>
Dan Loritz, Chief of Staff to Governor, MN (former negotiator) 9/1/88	<p>The union fought post-secondary options. The president of MEA fought it. By 1988 the MEA and the MFT no longer actively opposed secondary options and choice. "They are just going to let it cook."</p> <p>"The MEA is a powerful lobby and a huge contributor [to political campaigns]."</p>
Mary McBee, Principal, Central HS, St. Paul 4/24/95	"Teachers walk slowly in the new reforms."
Walt Munsterman, MEA V. Pres. and Judy Schaubach, MEA Sec/Treas 8/31/88	Open enrollment originally opposed by MEA. "Position in opposition"
Randy Peterson, Senator MN State and Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee 8/30/88	<p>"We have a task force. It's kind of just random selection; there's 24 members, six legislators (three senators, three house members) and then 18 of the groupies. The groupies are the MEA, the MFT, the School Boards Association and all the people who hang around the meetings all the time....It's an advisory group to make recommendations to the Commission on Public Education and the Commission actually prepares a report to the legislature."</p> <p>"..but the groups like MEA and MFT and the School Boards Association always ask for more money. But... very seldom say what they want to use any of the money for and basically what it boils down to in many instances is paying more for the same thing that you got the year before for less."</p>

MINNESOTA	
Interview	EA Involvement
<p>Sandy Peterson, President of MN Federation of Teachers 4/21/95</p>	<p>Question: "Is your organization obstructionist, constructionist, or leaders in reform?"</p> <p>Response: "On the reform issues, if they're true reforms, and they are of our making, then we are leaders..."</p> <p>In regard to the merger she said "It even got a standing ovation [at the MFT convention] which three years ago would not have happened. This was the first year that we did not have dissent on the floor."</p> <p>"I see the MFT and the MEA as leaders in the forefront of every piece of meaningful legislation that is out there that affects teachers right now."</p>
<p>Larry Pogemiller, Chair of MN Senate Education Committee (DFL) 4/95</p>	<p>"My belief is that trying to destroy unions would make the transition even more difficult because when people fear change and when people think someone is trying to run them over, they dig in. It is much more productive to work with people who are organized when you are trying to empower them."</p> <p>"The teachers union in Minnesota is trying to help."</p> <p>"I view labor unions as organizations that people have gathered around in their self-interest to be protective and nurturing and to help them go somewhere...Everybody says the unions in Minnesota are powerful. The power is illusionary. There hasn't been a meaningful strike in about twenty years."</p>
<p>Linda Powell, MN Commissioner of Education 4/24/95</p>	<p>"The MEA has been extremely on-board with the graduation standards. They have been very, very helpful...I see the MEA functioning very much as a professional organization, involved in educational policy."</p>

MINNESOTA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Ruth Randall, Commissioner of Education, MN 9/2/88	<p>Q: "What kind of force are the MEA and MFT from your point of view?"</p> <p>A: "Very strong. Both of them are very strong; they are a very strong force in the design and development of policy; they are a very strong force in lobbying for policy; they are very strong in the school districts, too."</p> <p>"Back in '85 when the governor proposed 'choice' and Marty Zinns was president at the time (of MEA) and the School Boards Association was adamantly opposed and Gene Olson (SBA) and Mary Zinns (MEA) and Ruth Randall were invited to numerous radio shows and panels; I was always for and the other two were always against. They lobbied very strongly against it and we got a portion of it in '85 and there's been lots of interventions since that time."</p> <p>"When the meetings would be over and I'd be walking down the hall, I'd always have somebody come up and tug me on the sleeve and say 'Hang in there, I just don't have the guts to speak out about it...I don't care what the union says, I'm for that and I want this to happen.'"</p> <p>"My perception was they were strident...let me give you an example: She sent out some publication saying that the Minnesota Business Partnership's goal was to abolish the public schools. ...I think the stridency was not effective and Marty lost her presidency."</p> <p>Q: "Have the EA initiated reform?"</p> <p>A: "Oh yes they have. They were not in the restructuring mold so much, but they pushed core curriculum. They had a whole host of things; they wanted teachers to have a stronger voice in decision-making and the FT did, too. I liked the title of the FT: 'Striking a Better Bargain'"</p>

MINNESOTA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Judy Schaubach, President of MEA 4/21/95	<p>[In regard to the merger between MEA and MFT] "Given the environment we're in with all the attacks on public education, we have both come to understand that it is not in our best interests to fight one another when we should think about how to preserve public education and how to preserve union rights."</p> <p>In march at the MEA convention there was a unanimous vote of 551 to merge with MFT. In April the 300+ MFT members voted unanimously likewise. The unified organization will have approximately 60,000 members.</p> <p>"The opposition in the public and in the legislature is nervous because they won't be able to play us off against each other any more."</p> <p>"The MEA is the big gorilla."</p> <p>"We want to expand our role as advocates to extend much more of what we call professional advocacy to help members with what they have to confront every day in the class." This is contrasted with an organization that "protects" members.</p> <p>"Legislation and legislative action we have to get even more involved in because it does impact so much what happens in the classroom. The bread-and-butter issues are still important but we have to expand this role of professional advocacy into the professional things."</p> <p>In regard to educational reform: "Our role is to help create the changes and reforms in a way that will preserve the rights of members."</p> <p>"Our role is not to protect bad teachers. We will have to assume a much greater role of policing our own through peer review and mentorship. We can still be a union and still do those things."</p>
Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis FT and Vice Pres of MFT 8/30/88 (1st interview)	<p>Change the image of teachers through the empowerment issue.</p> <p>"Mature collective bargaining places are where the most changes are taking place."</p> <p>"We end up in the same room as the MEA most of the time."</p> <p>Louise had been president five years.</p> <p>MFT represents 18,000 and MEA has about 35,000</p>
Louise Sundin, Pres Minneapolis FT, and V Pres MFT and AFT 4/21/95 (speech to AFT Convention)	<p>Very supportive of merger efforts with EA as both groups have become more alike than different.</p> <p>The total membership will be over 60,000</p>

MINNESOTA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Larry Wicks, Ex Dir MEA, St. Paul (Director since 3/87) 8/31/88 (1st interview)	On teacher empowerment: "That's why you have to take all of the philosophical statements in this area [teacher empowerment] and temper them with a degree of pragmatism." On "Open Enrollment" "Originally very vigorously opposed by MEA" It turned out to be a "tempest in a teapot because only 138 students took advantage the first year." Organizational goal to merge with MFT (1988) 1967 Bargaining="Meet and Confer" 1971- Formalized Bargaining 1973= "Right to Strike"
Larry Wicks, 4/20/95 (2nd interview)	Merger of MFT and MEA is about to take place
Teacher, American History, at Central High School in St. Paul and building representative for the union 4/24/95	MFT and MEA have a joint committee to screen candidates for local office.
Jean Thomas, Vice President, MEA 4/20/95	"Right now the fight we are fighting is to get the funding that we need to continue with the same quality. And so most of our efforts in this legislative era have been, to be sure, that we do preserve bargaining rights."

NATIONAL	
Interview	EA Involvement
Robert Barkley, Manager, Center for Innovation NEA/DC 10/95	"NEA is committed to restoring public confidence in public education." Purposes for unions existing: 1. "To protect members from dysfunctional systems." 2. To collaborate with management in fixing the dysfunctional system. "If we're going to be a leader in educational reform we've got to have something to say that's other than 'no'". 3. For the joy and satisfaction of employees in their jobs.
Thomas Payzant, Secretary of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dept. of Education, Washington DC 3/27/95	Q: "Does it matter if the NEA is involved in the reforms?" A: "I would broaden the group to include other stakeholders. The teacher organizations [like NEA] are major players, and they were involved in helping to get the legislation through [He is specifically referring to the latest Federal enactment of Chapter 1, etc.], but so were a lot of other folks on the coalition. It was unusual because there were business people involved, PTA, a coalition that came together around Goals 2000, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Act, Schools-to-Work Act, direct student loans that had not been seen in Washington before." "You can apply that same thing to state-level legislation... we need coalitions to get reforms going."
Chris Pipho, Executive Director, Education Commission of the States (ECS) and frequent contributor to <i>Kappan</i> 8/10/88	"Let's take the obstacle side first: Tennessee in the career ladder. The teachers tried to block it. The teachers association was a big piece. In Arkansas, the teachers association openly opposed the governor all through the fall [about testing teachers]. In Texas and in Arkansas there were law suits filed by the teachers associations [about testing teachers]. I would say that in California...the teachers played a fairly heavy role in Senate Bill 813 [megalegislation]. Florida, the career ladder program...the teachers were very instrumental in eventually just closing it down.
Gary Watts, Ass't Exec. Director NEA/DC 2/88	"We walk a fine line trying to improve member benefits and defend member rights and do what is good for public education. As much as we want to believe it, the twain does not always meet...The bottom line is how does it affect our members."

PENNSYLVANIA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Thomas Gilhool, former Secretary of Education (1987-89) under Governor Robert Casey 10/31/95 (in his law office)	The reason he was selected was because of his positive feelings for and relationship with the teachers groups. He felt he worked better with the teachers than with other parts of the ed establishment. "My relationship with the PSEA leadership was very positive. We met on a regular basis to devise methods of working together."
John Yarnovic, former President of PSEA (1987-91) 11/6/95 (via phone from his home in McKeesport, PA)	Gilhool was very approachable and we had a good relationship with him. Other secretaries were not as good to work with. Yes, PSEA is a strong lobbying force.
David Gondak, current President of PSEA 11/7/95 (via phone)	LEAP: League of Educational Advancement is developing an agenda entitled "Change that Works." (He was willing to send me the topics but not the specifics of this reform agenda until after the PA Delegate Assembly had voted on it.) We have a lot of influence...we have members all across the state ...we have 137,000 members...we can mobilize easily. When I visit legislators they tell me they are hearing from my members.
Don Atkiss, Mideastern Regional Field Director, PSEA 11/4/95 (In his office in Spring House, PA)	"We're an obstacle to phony reform...the reform agenda of Gov. Ridge is "phony reform...We are called obstructionists by the Religious Right because we won't just roll over and accept things like vouchers and privatization because that destroys the public school system and that's their [religious right] agenda.
Thaddeus Kirkland, State Representative and member of the House Education Committee 12/8/95	PSEA is a powerful lobby.
Michael Young, Professor of Politics and Political Research at Penn State, Harrisburg Campus 12/15/95	PSEA is politically active although they are not quite as strong as they have been. They have backed a few losing candidates and the whole government has transformed recently to the right. PSEA has a brilliant strategy in creating their own reform agenda. They have usually had adaptive leadership. Sometimes they get on the train just as it is leaving the station.

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	EA Involvement
<p>John Cone, Executive Director of the SC School Boards Assoc. 7/25/95</p>	<p>"A lot of what was good about it was the attitudes. They were very positive attitudes, and I really think there was not any strong leadership at the SCEA at the time...so the SCEA was willing to be part of the team and do things together."</p> <p>"The elected people [at SCEA] are almost uniformly ineffective. They are there for a year and then they are gone again."</p> <p>"...the SCEA is, with this new leadership particularly [the executive director], really rabid militant...they want everything they can get for teachers and they want credit for getting it. Even if the district or the state wants to give it to them voluntarily, if they get it they want to show somehow that they forced it."</p>
<p>Sheila Gallagher, President SCEA, 3/28/95</p>	<p>She personally testified in support of EIA to the state senate and house in 1984.</p> <p>"Our organization is ready to do battle [over the loss of the penny]."</p> <p>Individual incentive grants were not fairly applied. The association didn't do anything formally. They worked with districts and the S.C. Ed. Dept. but the incentives didn't work because of the personality problems.</p> <p>NEA does not direct how the state affiliates should deal with state reforms.</p> <p>"You're dealing with the total education family." She has direct access <i>vis a vis</i> the computer network to the national headquarters and the other state affiliates.</p> <p>Characterization of SCEA in regard to reform: "I look at the SCEA as one of the leaders. We have a concerned group of educators who want to see public education succeed...We are right out in front."</p>
<p>Joe Grant, Executive Director, South Carolina EA (first African- American to hold this position and formerly the chief lobbyist for SCEA) 7/26/88</p>	<p>"We have the largest employee labor organization, private or public sector, in the state."</p> <p>"We had various run-ins with the business community, largely represented by the Chamber of Commerce..."</p> <p>There is a paternalistic attitude toward workers that makes it alien to people in the business community for the workers to have any say about their working conditions.</p> <p>Riley involved the SCEA before the legislative package was put forward because of their powerful political lobbying and their support for various political candidates.</p>
<p>Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association 7/25/88 (1st interview)</p>	<p>She said they started the Palmetto State Teachers Association in 1976 to give teachers a choice, so they didn't have to belong to a union, like NEA. [PSTA does not endorse candidates or get involved in fringe issues such as abortion].</p>

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association 3/28/95 (2nd interview)	The SCEA from Gressette's point of view is a union. The PSTA offers a more professional philosophy. The PSTA has grown from 2700 in 1988 to 4200 in 1995.
Crosby Lewis, Chairman, SC Legislative Oversight Committee for EIA, (D) 7/88 (1st interview)	He discussed the anatomy of the legislation and how they went about vote counting "...we would use the Education Association and the Palmetto Teachers Association [to lobby and to count votes]." "We used in those strategy meetings people from SCEA, the School Administrators Association, the School Boards Association, and the Chamber of Commerce." "The SCEA officially supported the Incentive Pay Program."
Crosby Lewis, Former Legislator, South Carolina 3/95 (2nd interview)	The EA was originally opposed to the retirement of unqualified teachers, "...but they came around and we worked through that. I thought they carried their share of the load."
Terry Peterson, Director of S.C. Business Partnership Committee and Governor's Aide (Interviewed at the Education Commission for the States, Baltimore) 8/12/88 (1st interview)	"The education association traded off for a big raise in base pay."
Terry Peterson, Assistant to the Secretary of Education, Washington DC 3/27/95 (2nd interview)	"In '91 or '92 the teachers had a march on the Capitol and said 'Save the penny'. "In a Carnegie Foundation report in 1990, South Carolina teachers rated reform the highest."

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	EA Involvement
James Petrie, Exec. Director SCEA 3/95	<p>"While our critics will use the term 'union' to diminish our argument...this is not a union. These people are professional to a fault."</p> <p>With the "raiding of EIA" there will be loss of teacher positions in most districts and what the Association is trying to do is to get the word out about that.</p> <p>They have helped to create a coalition with the superintendents association, school boards association, the PTOs, and school councils to oppose the change in EIA legislation. "We are hoping to educate the public." They are trying to remobilize the public.</p> <p>"I am fearful that we are approaching anarchy in that we are going to have government by referendum in this country. NEA can be a great support to use in advising us, helping us to put together strategies and programs to deal with those referendums." Collective bargaining is not the primary focus in South Carolina because they do not see themselves as a union."</p> <p>"I believe that the reform move will lead teachers in non-bargaining states to a position where they will be recognized not only as professionals and experts but as a valuable commodity and will have more impact on school board policy, wages, hours, as a result of the collaborative relationship."</p>
Pamela Pritchard, Special Assistant for Education Initiatives, S.C. Dept. of Education (referred to her by State Superintendent of Education) 3/31/95	<p>"The role of teachers and the role of teacher organizations are two separate questions because we are a right-to-work state." [The teacher organization, SCEA] is active in Columbia inside the beltway as far as policy making and policy influencing. At the school level they are not very active. They need to be at the table in all discussions about education."</p>

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Richard Riley, former governor of SC and now Secretary of Education 7/27/88	<p>".. there was an absolute mandate on my part that everything we do in this state that deals with education, teachers are going to be on the ground floor and I stuck by that from the very beginning...We did that and that had a lot to do with the ultimate success we had at the other end....We handled that situation in that way, the two major organizations here, of course SCEA is by far the largest. They had strong representation and staff people at all of our meetings and so did the Palmetto Teachers....The SCEA was an active participant in the whole EIA and when it finished, they were celebrating with us across the board because they were involved from the word go...I mean every amendment, everything that came up they were an integral part of it."</p> <p>"The SCEA people were involved of that (helping to build legislative votes) developed leadership, people who could count votes, people who raise points or whatever. They called our little group the "Smurfs"..."</p> <p>Some business people "...refer to SCEA as a union, but the fact is that the Association, which we call it, does have tremendous influence in the area of education and in other areas."</p> <p>"... I've spoken in St Louis at the annual meeting [of NEA], thousands and thousands of people there and South Carolina is one of the leading activist groups. They're not second-class citizens in those organizations at all, and our teachers are very active and good....I like for them to be active."</p>
Tim Rogers, S.C. Representative (now Crosby Lewis's law partner, he was an original EIA proponent) (D) 3/31/95	<p>"The teachers have been the 'shock troupes' defending the EIA. The House plan has been to buy them off by using the money on them."</p> <p>"Save the penny"-Poster SCEA sponsored fight to save the \$ for education. Actively involved in gubernatorial race but the teachers' choice lost.</p> <p>"They don't have the muscle anymore."</p> <p>"We need the Teachers' Organizations to be involved [in legislation and politics]"</p>
Nicky Setzler, S.C. Senator, Chairman of Education Committee (D) and Ellen Sills, Legislative Assistant 3/29/95 (in SC Senate Chambers lobby)	<p>Ellen, commenting on teachers not taking the opportunity to speak to the education committee about reform: "[they didn't speak] from disdain for taking advantage of a situation in order to push what's good for education because that would be political. And teachers, heaven knows, are never political." [said with sarcasm]</p> <p>Nicky: "The teachers have been very, very supportive of education reform in South Carolina. They have been very much a part of the education reform movement. They are vital to the reform...I think the common goal of education improvement and the benefit to the young people of this state is above any individual goal of a single organization."</p>
Dorothy Turberville, Principal of Hand Middle School, Columbia, SC 3/30/95	EIA is really minute management decisions like how many minutes for assemblies, not being able to use the PA during class.

SOUTH CAROLINA	
Interview	EA Involvement
Larry Wilsford, Consultant to the Business Partnership and Superintendent of the Year 3/31/95	<p>"Teachers' Unions have always wanted everyone to get the same pay. [so they didn't support the incentive pay]</p> <p>"The teachers have not been steadfast defenders of reform and restructuring activities. They have been steadfast defenders of getting paid the Southeast average. Neither association (SCEA and Palmetto) has been major players in encouraging restructuring and reform to get better results."</p>
Faculty Members at Hand Middle School in Columbia, SC 3/30/95	<p>Faculty 1: Former SCEA member who dropped membership this year because he saw SCEA as "too political" A number of teachers in the school have joined Palmetto because the dues are much cheaper. (23 year veteran)</p> <p>Faculty 2: (4th year teacher) Palmetto State Teacher Member</p> <p>Faculty 3: Retired and returned-life member of NEA and SCEA "The liability and legal representation. NEA has a union. With the legislature they haven't been as effective because they are sometimes considered abrasive."</p> <p>Faculty 4 (30 years) SCEA member: "The main reason to belong is for the insurance. They are there if I need them. We need a good lobbying organization because the legislators don't know enough."</p>

APPENDIX 7: REFORMS AND EVALUATION

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Jerome Hughes, President of MN Senate 8/29/88	Minnesota's approach is a "bottoms up" one. "Enduring change comes slowly. I might tell you what I do in the process of change is to enable things; I believe in enabling legislation..."	"The problem is a ...system problem. We need a paradigm shift from a 'schooling' problem to an education problem...we need to shift to a learning paradigm."
Phil Janni, Business Mgr., MN Citizens League 10/21/95	Open enrollment now includes 6000 students. Currently reform is "about funding and that's part of the larger state conversation about reforming property tax." "a little offshoot about a year or so ago where the governor pushed state-wide standards" = OBE.	The governor is "not providing strong leadership for change" in any arena.
Alice Johnson, MN Legislator, DFL, Chair of Education Finance Committee Apr. 1995	School breakfast program. Charter schools are like private schools.	"In my view we've done very little to improve schools in the last few years in Minnesota." "Nobody is allowed to say that education is a black hole in my presence." [as the chair of the Education Finance Committee]. "Any kind of reform we do has to be linked with costs."
Curt Johnson, Exec Dir., Minnesota Citizens League 10/2/88	Open enrollment Post-secondary education options Charter schools Funding	"We finally, I think, persuaded people that we were not interested in helping people to leave the system; we were interested in introducing dynamics that cause the system itself to respond to that kind of change..." Discussing "Choice" in Minn.

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
<p>Curt Johnson, Chairman of the Metropolitan District of Minneapolis 4/24/95 (2nd interview)</p>	<p>"At the urging of the Citizens League was the enactment of the charter school law." He says that reforms need to run the full gamut from the simplest remedy to complete divestiture of public ownership. "It is part of our inculturated belief system that we have given up on the common experience in society if we do not publicly manage, publicly organize and deliver education."</p>	<p>"My most over-arching sense is that reform has slowed down a lot here. Open enrollment is institutionalized now. It's no longer very controversial...It's achieved its policy purpose precisely in that there is enough movement to keep the system more alert than it was, but not enough to destabilize the basis of the system." On charter schools: "We invented it but we are still relatively timid about using it." "In the 90's reform has slowed down...We are working on the third leg of the stool. The first leg was offering people a new relationship in which they can choose a school. The second leg of the stool made it possible to choose a different kind of school, i.e. the charter school. The third leg of the stool is real standards, and Minnesota does not have those yet. We've been focusing now in the 90's on standards."</p>

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Loni Kawamura, Commissioner of MN State Planning Agency 8/31/88	"... We talked about the single theme of accountability for the education system here in Minnesota. And under that theme of accountability which was under the banner 'access to excellence', we talked about the fact that we would begin to eliminate or reduce state mandates on local districts. So, we talked about teachers and empowering teachers which was to increase staff development and to align teachers and parents as collective advocates for education. Then we talked about empowering parents basically through open enrollment. We talked about testing...we built this house, this thematic houses ...very well. The newspapers picked up and then obviously the public picked up on the open enrollment cornerstone out of all these initiatives: staff development, testing, reducing mandates, etc....and that's what became 'access to excellence.'"	"I don't think we would have gotten as far as we have here in Minnesota if we had proposed a little bit, a little bit, and a little bit. I think the policy would have gotten frustrated and put together incrementally and would not have made as much sense as it does now." "Now let me just say one final thing and that is that the concept of 'choice' is sort of to us what <i>Glasnost</i> did to the Soviet Union. It is not only a theme in education that we use as a standard in making decisions, but it is a theme we use in other areas as well....We are questioning the role of government and we are opening up the debate so, it's something that we've transferred from education to other areas."
Leroy Koppendrayer MN Legislator (R), member of Education Committee 4/95	"Real reform now in Minnesota is the funding." "MEA wants us to level the playing field. I don't believe in that. I think we need competition in the schools." The graduation rule or standards can be used for local control." He is "pro-voucher"	We are not competitive enough with the global economy. "Our economy can no longer sustain an annual wage with annual benefits for 180 days of work, and I have become the most unpopular legislator with teachers." "I don't think we are failing in the K-12 system, but I think we do need to be doing better."
Dan Loritz, Chief of Staff to the Governor, MN (former negotiator) 9/1/88	The effective schools bill passed in 1983. In 1986 the governor introduced "choice". 137 kids moved during the first year of choice, 1987.	

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Mary McBee, Principal of Central High School in St. Paul 4/24/95	Graduation standards applying to graduates of the year 2000.	
Walt Munsterman, MEA Vice Pres. and Judy Schaubach, MEA Sec/Treas 8/31/88	Open enrollment Secondary options	
Ken Peatross, MN Teachers Licensing Board 8/30/88	"Open enrollment or the choice process which really to some extent emanated from our governor...and raised the rankles, obviously of the educational establishment..." "...Minnesota, I think you can characterize us by saying there's been a lot of so-called grassroots participation in the so-called reform movement."	[Open Enrollment] "In fact it was very much opposed early on by the educational establishment and you can see quickly why because in their minds, unions, school boards, etc. it a threat to our...visions of mass exodus..."
Randy Peterson, Senator MN State and Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee 8/30/88	Equalization of funding. "I introduced a bill in '87 that threw all of the variations out and gave everybody exactly the same amount of dollars..."	"If you don't know where you are going, you can go any direction and get there. So, if we conclude that we're not doing what we want to do, we need to know which direction we want to go, what needs to change in the current system to get us there, and we haven't done that yet.
Sandy Peterson, President of MN Federation of Teachers 4/21/95	"How do we get technology into teachers' daily lives? The next reform would deal with the staff development piece, so that we as teachers know the latest effective methods for delivering curriculum to students."	"Some reforms have been made successfully. Others still need to be made."

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Larry Pogemiller, Chair of MN Senate Education Committee (DFL) 4/95	"Minnesota is historically been a collaborative decision making state." "We clearly need year-round structures. We clearly need all-day and maybe all-night schools." A senate bill passed this year: "If a bargaining unit and a school board decide that they are both willing to start from scratch and put everything at the bargaining table, educational policy and management prerogatives, and they are willing to base part of the compensation on student performance, and if they are willing to waiver tenure laws, that we will give them \$800 per teacher. The union supported it." "The quid pro quo is we will give you all the power, but you've got to produce results."	"From a societal point of view we've been spending too much time having the adults decide about their issues between the adults: who has power, who has control." Those who agitate take over."
Linda Powell, MN Commissioner of Education 4/24/95	"Graduation standards...moving to a results-based system...redefining and redesigning the curriculum."	"Open enrollment, charter schools, and post-secondary options, Minnesota school effectiveness have continued. OBE has been the most controversial, but that's because people understand it." Question: Do you believe that Minnesota has stayed in the forefront of educational reform. Answer: Yes I do, absolutely.
Ruth Randall, Commissioner of Education, MN 9/2/88	"The structure will change. An example is our 'choice' program where the power is now shared with parents and with students where before the School Board and the superintendent had the power." "So, restructuring means that the boundaries of the school district are no longer confining; that education is open. You can go to any public school so that's restructuring."	

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Judy Schaubach, President of MEA 4/21/95	<p>"The move toward consolidation of smaller districts is a reform that improves quality. Open enrollment pushed that a little bit."</p> <p>"Another reform comes about from our shared decision-making process that we're involved in...still in its infancy."</p> <p>"The staff development piece is the third reform."</p> <p>"The work toward the graduation rule is a reform."</p>	<p>"Open enrollment has created opportunities for kids who might not otherwise have been there."</p> <p>"I think it's very difficult to sustain meaningful reform when so much of it is dependent on legislative action."</p> <p>"We don't have tenure. We have due process rights against illegal termination."</p>
Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis FT and Vice Pres. of MFT 8/30/88	<p>Open enrollment</p> <p>Post-secondary options</p> <p>Mentoring of other teachers</p> <p>Charter Schools</p> <p>Joint Labor/Management Committee for Staff Development with \$10/pupil.</p>	<p>"AFT in this state is understood by the political leaders and the corporate leaders as the group that is pushing the reforms faster than anyone else."</p> <p>"Too many people are patting themselves on the back for the reforms instead of moving forward."</p> <p>"I have told people lately that it would help us if they would not refer to us as the 'Great Reform State'"</p> <p>"Open enrollment is analogous to the divestiture of A T and T... huge monopoly that had to be broken up ignoring that it was the best system in the world...it has increased the market sensitivity."</p>

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Louise Sundin, President of Minneapolis FT, and Vice President of MFT and AFT 4/21/95 (speech to AFT Convention)	<p>"AFT takes strong and controversial outspoken positions. There are two major themes: those of standards and accountability that are the foundation for the AFT's policy issues in these areas."</p> <p>1. Privatization: (Under certain conditions AFT favors charter schools, but they are insisting on thorough investigation and accountability for organizations that are privatizing schools)</p> <p>2. "The big issue of inclusion... Disruptive students need to be removed no matter who they are."</p> <p>3. "Private vouchers...The AFT vigorously opposes voucher schemes"</p> <p>4. "Standards...We are vigorously calling for standards. We do support Goals 2000 as an organization."</p> <p>5. "Safety in the schools..."</p> <p>6. "Character Counts Campaign" [a values curriculum]"</p>	Not as much has happened as AFT would like to see, but Mn is a state where things are going fairly well.
Larry Wicks, Exec. Dir MEA in offices at St. Paul (Director since 3/87) 8/31/88	<p>"No fundamental reforms took place in Minn from 83 to 86/87</p> <p>During second wave: recognition and acknowledgement that teachers have to be more intimately involved in a broadened scope of decision-making."</p> <p>Minn has open enrollment. "A vested interest for our members was a two year moratorium on lay-offs"</p>	
Larry Wicks, 4/20/95 (2nd interview)	<p>Graduation Standards are on the front now</p> <p>Funding for education is up in legislature</p>	

MINNESOTA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Teacher, American History, at Central High School in St. Paul and building representative for the union 4/24/95	The two teachers' organizations need to work together. As a social studies teacher he focused on the community service aspects of the graduation rules.	"We're going backwards in Minnesota now because of restrictions being put on by people, because they are not interested in reform. They are interested in cutting back the money."
Jean Thomas, Vice President, MEA 4/20/95	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some form of outcomes education. 2. Shared Decisions Minnesota (site-based decision making). 3. Graduation standards. 4. Performance-based assessment. 5. Inclusion. 	
Unnamed speaker, AFL/CIO union leader at MFT convention 4/21/95	"Turning public education over to the private sector would be like selling public libraries to Barnes and Nobel....A healthy democracy demands a quality public education, free to all."	

PENNSYLVANIA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Thomas Gilhool, former Secretary of Education (1987-89) 10/31/95	"Your observation is right. It is unchallengeable [that we do not legislate educational reform in Pennsylvania.] The fabric of school law in Pennsylvania has not changed in any significant way since 1911...and a little in 1949 [Pennsylvania School Code dates]....For us [in Pennsylvania] there is enough in the statutes already. For us [Gilhool and Casey] most of our early strategies to make things happen were...administrative, executive branch....We had a set of statutes ready to go, but then I left..."	Most of the reforms came out of the executive offices.
David Gondak, current President of PSEA 11/7/95	The most extensive thing that we have done is the changes to the Chapter 5 curriculum....PSEA is part of the Coalition but we are one of the more actively involved...1992 We defeated the voucher for the first time....KIDS II is being called a pilot but it covers about 60% of the kids in private or parochial schools already.	Not much has happened. Some of the anti-union things make some of the legislators nervous.
Don Atkiss, Mideastern Regional Field Director, PSEA 11/4/95	We play a blame game in this state...my sons' education won't change with the voucher initiative. PSEA is going to present "Reform that Works...we started 2 1/2 years ago. We are losing the agenda to Phyllis Shaffly, Ralph Reed, Bill Bennett...[they] had an agenda. Our strength is our democratic approach but it causes you to move slow[ly].	We didn't do anything in PA...We are a fertile ground for the ideological battle...we are engaged in a battle not a collaborative in reform. Nothing is getting done [as a result].

PENNSYLVANIA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
<p>Thaddeus Kirkland, State Representative and member of the House Education Committee 12/8/95</p>	<p>I agree ...there hasn't been a legislative reform package come through this state....There is an educational reform package that has been put together by a bipartisan effort by House and Senate democrats and republicans on the education committees. It calls for equity in funding, better teacher training, removing violence from our schools...</p>	<p>What has happened is in this state we have gone through a legislative educational 'deform'. That has been the downward spiral of our school systems. When I say educational deform I mean the removal of programs that allow children to feel good about themselves, to allow them to exercise their skills be they academic skills, musical skills, cultural skills, or even athletic skills. They have constantly taken away programs that encourage kids to come to school.</p>
<p>Michael Young, Professor of Politics and Political Research at Penn State, Harrisburg Campus 12/15/95</p>	<p>Legislated reforms are a priority of Ridge's administration which he will continue to bring up until either they pass or he leaves office. He sees this as route to higher office.</p>	<p>The political culture of PA has an anti-reform ethos and a negativism. PA is anti-change and does not value innovations. They may be because of the religious affiliations of many of our citizens who either catholic or Born-again Christian since neither of these two groups seem to value innovation and change. PA falls into Elazar's individualistic political culture and values economic, pragmatic issues.</p>

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
John Cone, Executive Director of the SC School Boards Assoc. 7/25/95	Gifted and talented program. Compensatory and remedial education programs at the state level. "...the next big wave of reform needs to be in governance structure." "Nixon could run this time and he'd get elected in this state. This is the home of Strom Thurman and Fritz Hollings, who is viewed as a liberal in this state."	"...the second part of reform [setting up a system that will work well] has not been done in this state." "One of the most positive things we did was we reduced the number of days a youngster could miss school and still get credit, and the result of that is a dramatically changed behavior. So now we have the best attendance rate in the country." "It may be that a lot of what's best coming out of the teacher pay increase in the EIA is not going to start showing up for some years down the road [current students will become teachers because of good pay]."
Sheila Gallagher, President SCEA, 3/28/95	"[She said Riley said] the salary of teachers needed to be raised to the southeastern average." "They [House of Representatives] have stolen the penny. It's a farce"	She thinks the reforms have done quite well. The southeastern average salary has been maintained. This has attracted some new teachers to education who might have chosen more lucrative careers. Some real good teachers stayed in education. Businesses have adopted schools. In individual districts and classrooms there are innovative techniques that have been encouraged by EIA. Technology, such as computers, is available in even some poorer districts.
Joe Grant, Executive Director, South Carolina EA (first African- American to hold this position and formerly the chief lobbyist for SCEA) 7/26/88	Education Improvement Act (EIA) There were deficiencies in basic skills that were seen by the public and the blue ribbon panel. Teachers were low-paid and were brought up to the Southeastern average. "Teachers' salaries were a problem. We were floating between 45th and 50th. Now we're at 34th."	"Teachers' salaries were a problem. We were floating between 45th and 50th. Now we're at 34th." "Well, the components of the law are working. But even more importantly, we're able to tell the public that they're working, and how. You know, it's one thing to have a success, it's another thing to have success stories you tell effectively."

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association 7/25/88 (1st interview)	She was a member of the blue ribbon panel that Governor Riley put together to create EIA. She is committed to EIA because she was a stakeholder from the beginning.	"We don't have to say 'Thank God for Mississippi' anymore. That's what we used to say because we were either 49th or 50th in every poll that came out. People thought we walked around barefoot and pregnant. That was their idea of education in South Carolina. We made it happen...EIA was so comprehensive, we raised everything."
Elizabeth Gressette, Executive Director of the Palmetto State Teachers Association (2nd interview) 3/28/95	The state house has just voted to take the penny tax for property tax relief, instead of using it for EIA.	"The EIA has been in operation for ten years; and while for the first seven years we made dramatic strides and blew the tops off of every chart, we have leveled out in a few areas. Any time you are in an innovative or reform cycle, you can't keep doing the same things or it's not innovative any more. It's time to change and revitalize some of EIA."
Crosby Lewis, Chairman, SC Legislative Oversight Committee for EIA, (D) 7/88 (1st interview)	"I cannot yet see the time when elementary and secondary education will be less than the number one priority in South Carolina. I know that it will come if we stay on the course that we are on, but I can't see the end yet."	"...the press deserves a tremendous amount of credit for the commitment they made understanding what we were doing...they were beginning to get the news that things were happening in South Carolina." "I will tell you that the educators, by virtue of human nature, are trying to round off the corners of Education Improvement Act."
Crosby Lewis, Former Legislator, South Carolina 3/95 (2nd interview)	EIA penny tax under attack: "The legislature is looking at the short term. They are just responding to the public's demand for lower taxes. I don't think this a very far-sighted or statesman-like position for the legislature to take. It certainly is a popular position with the public." "The genius of the EIA...was in the incentive programs which provided built-in accountability. You didn't get the money if you didn't produce."	On national reform: "Somebody has dropped the baton. The movement has got to become rejuvenated or else the country is going to go down the tubes...We are filling up the jails...Nobody wants to educate the people to stop the crime." On South Carolina: "There has been a systematic dismantling of the EIA by the Republicans." "It worked for about six or seven years...We could document the results." (See Peterson's 10 measurable results.) "Until America just makes education the first priority as a matter of course...we are not going to correct this problem."

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Terry Peterson, Assistant to the Secretary of Education, Washington DC 3/27/95 (2nd interview)	EIA implemented tougher courses, exit exams, norm referenced tests, lower rate of absenteeism, \$30-40 per pupil incentive grant for school performance improvement. He said within the last three or four years they added school-to-work transition and early childhood reform.	"Once the reforms are completely phased in, you get a big bump in performance but then it plateaus until you do something new again." "...a textbook case of where you can see improvements in about ten indicators around all the areas attacked, essentially." "Incentive grants went down the drain...Individual incentive pay never could be perceived as being fair." The result was that the money was never used for that purpose. "There's no other place [in the country] that can show the progress [of South Carolina]."
James Petrie, Exec. Director SCEA 3/95	EIA put in some student-based improvements. Act 135, early intervention for at-risk students, provides for smaller classes and educational plans at the building level for individual students. (C. Lewis talked about this in 1988, but it took until 1993 to enact.)	"I think overall, it has brought a lot more innovation or incentive for innovation than was before." "[The legislative authority says] there ought to be givens: safety...educational standards, such as high school credits required are positives." These have been accomplished. The legislature did not do any evaluation before voting to divert the penny tax from education to property tax relief.
Pamela Pritchard, Special Assistant for Education Initiatives, S.C. Dept. of Education (referred to her by State Superintendent of Education) 3/31/95	1. Writing curriculum frameworks (started 4-1/2 years ago) = standards. 2. EIA project method. 3. Systemic changes now.	"The EIA was the right step at the right time...The most important thing it did was raised awareness about what was basic to education...The EIA funds have been consistently eroded away from those basic purposes...There is no silver bullet...The department now looks at reform systemically instead of in the project mode."

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Richard Riley, former governor of SC and now Secretary of Education 7/27/88	The EIA package: "... the southeastern average which was a giant for SC	"Well you see, it's so structured that to mess with the EIA budget would take a major structural change to undo it and you know, as long as people here support education at all, that's not going to happen..." " I had this great education with teachers and educators." "... it wasn't a heavenly edict when EIA got passed, it was just human beings struggling with human problems..."
Tim Rogers, S.C. Representative (D) (now Crosby Lewis's law partner, he was an original EIA proponent) 3/31/95	Act 135 was positive follow-through on EIA ("EIA revisited") "A chunk of money was soaked up in the House raid on EIA this year" "There's a raid on the penny." Change of funding from a 'trust fund' to the general fund. There is a shift to 'higher education' "Property tax relief is to come from penny." "We passed important school to work legislation"	"The EIA has been criticized because it was too prescriptive" "Dr. Nielsen's goals plan deregulates everything" "We have schools in South Carolina as good as any in the country...EIA helped to get us there." "We are a leader national vocational technical education"
Nicky Setzler, S.C. Senator, Chairman of Education Committee (D) and Ellen Sills, Legislative Assistant 3/29/95 (in SC Senate Chambers lobby)	Ellen: "If there is ever an argument against term limitations, educational reform is it. You're always going to have piecemeal reform as long as you have short-term, piecemeal legislators... You need institutional memory if you're going to build on the past."	Ellen: "I would say the reform was very effective the first five years, then there was a plateau because the impetus of the reform began to fade." The emphasis has changed from "the reform" to "reforming". Nicky: "You've got to be willing to take a comprehensive in depth look at the programs after a certain period of time. I think that revitalizes the reform movement."
Dorothy Turberville, Principal of Hand Middle School, Columbia, SC 3/30/95	"The legislature is saying we will teach this or that. The other end is no regulations. In SC the legislation acts as a school board" "We have to look at what the research says works and stop things like ability grouping."	"I don't think we had any serious reform. What EIA did was focus energy and interest on education. It made it an important part of the discussion. It did institute some programs and reinstated ability-grouping again." "Chasing the Southeastern average does not mean that we pay teachers well enough to attract the best and the brightest; especially minorities..."

SOUTH CAROLINA		
Interview	State Reforms	Evaluation of Reform
Larry Wilsford, Consultant to the Business Partnership and Superintendent of the Year, 3/31/95	"It's not just the undoing of EIA, it's undoing a whole history of a struggle to come from Reconstruction to a modern state." "We have a bunch of politicians running like horses without halters- hellbent for glory"	He was a superintendent in a poverty district "EIA made all the difference" "The penny was sold to the business community to buy education improvement. We betrayed the EIA trust"
Faculty Members at Hand Middle School in Columbia, SC 3/30/95	What does EIA mean to you? #1: "The main thing it meant was a pay raise and got us up with the Southeastern average." #2: EIA announcements aren't supposed to come on but they do. #3: Gifted and Talented and other special groups. #4: Smaller class size.	#1 There is more not less paper work #3: "The whole state has improved tremendously. I traveled the state as a book publisher and I saw the changes especially in districts with good leadership" The majority of funds are spent on students but the public thinks that the funds go to teachers.

APPENDIX 8: GLOSSARY

Educational Reform Movement Jargon Defined

A sample of terms used (i.e. jargon) in the current reform of education movement as found and heard among reformers, educators, and media presenters as interpreted by Phyllis Catz is listed below. *In other words, the words one needs to understand when trying to decipher the codes and "buzz-words" of this movement follow:*

Access to Excellence

Minnesota's Governor Rudy Perpich, 1985 proposed an eight point educational reform plan portions of which became open enrollment, postsecondary options, and graduation options. Calling it Access to Excellence, he announced it to the Citizens League.

Accelerated Schools Program

Dr. Henry Levin of Stanford has developed a reform for schools that includes a process of involving all elements (parents, staff, community) in treating all students as if they are academically gifted. Based on his notion that remediation of poor students puts them further behind each year, this enriched instructional model is designed to end the gap

Anti-OBE

In Pennsylvania as well as several other states, Outcomes Based Education was put forth. Radical religious right groups mounted major opposition to what they say was state intrusion into the moral values of students.

authentic assessment

In the current parlance of assessing student achievement, this term refers to activities, performances, and products that truly (or authentically) show what

a student is capable of achieving. These assessments are supposedly more immediate than the results of standardized testing

bargaining unit

the group who is represented on the union side of negotiations. For teacher unions this can mean the local school district teacher union as it attempts to negotiate a contract with the local school board.

binding arbitration

For teacher negotiations with local boards, this process means that both sides agree that a neutral arbitrator will be engaged who will decide what ought to be contracted. Sometimes the term *last-best-offer* is used when that is what the arbitrator is asked to decide between.

bottom-up

decisions, reforms, and actions which begin at the proverbial *grassroots* are said to be bottom-up. The contrast here is with mandation that comes from the top of an organization or bureaucracy (i.e. top-down)

Center for Innovation

The National Education Association has a headquarters division that is devoted to educational reform. During 1994-95

the reorganization of NEA took place and this center was named and constituted to be proactive in the reform movement (some twelve years after *A Nation at Risk*.)

career ladder

Traditionally teachers could only advance by moving into administrative or quasi-administrative positions. In laddering, teachers can move up the rungs of their craft based on training, experience, and quality but still remain as teachers.

choice

The practice of having parents select the school which their child or children will attend; based on the free market or competitive market theory, supporters of choice sometimes restrict the selection to public schooling and sometimes include private schooling, but always mean that some form of public funding will follow the student. In some cases this means a *voucher* for education is given to the parents. Public School Choice exists in Minnesota. Pennsylvania is attempting to enact it.

Coalition of Essential Schools

Dr. TheodoreSizer, former Dean of the Graduate School of Education at Brown University, began developing a network of secondary schools in particular who were willing to adhere to nine major premises including the student-as-worker, authentic assessment, 80-student rosters, the student as thinker, the teacher as generalist, teams of students and teachers working on less is more. At the 1988 ECS convention 5 states signed on to using this Coalition

including PA. (see *Re:Learning*)

collective bargaining

negotiations process used by labor and management to determine contracts for periods of agreed-upon time wherein the union is the collective representing a particular group or unit of an organization

Comer Model

Dr. James Comer, an African-American Yale-based child psychiatrist developed a method for school improvement based on team process where the teams include parents, staff, student, and mental health professionals. The process works to create positive relationships among the adults so that urban youth get the kind of support system needed to overcome environmental obstacles

competency-based curriculum

This is a type of mastery learning predicated on the idea that there certain competencies or skills that a student needs before he/she can move to the next level of learning. Minimums are sometimes read as maximums and therefore, low expectations for student achievement may result.

cooperative learning

For more than twenty years this term has been used to apply to a set of instructional strategies, structures, and operations that include the PIG's Face elements of positive interdependence, individual accountability, group processing, small groups in social structures, who learning together through communicating directly (*face-to-face*) proponents and developers are

the Johnsons from Minnesota, Kagan of California, and Slavin of Johns Hopkins.

curriculum based assessment

A form of authentic assessing of students' abilities to interact with the actual materials that are in the curricular materials being used. One form of CBA is used to discover reading levels and abilities; others are used in math, etc.

developmentally appropriate practice

DAP is based on the actual physical and psychological development of children especially in the early years of schooling. It provides a shift from trying to teach all children as if their rates of growth and developmental are exactly the same at the same chronological ages. A DAP kindergarten for instance is based on what the children are actually able to perform in play and social aspects instead of trying to teach them reading before they are ready.

early intervention

The Goals 2000 speak of all children being ready to learn. Early intervention is discovery the needs of children from 0 to 8 and then providing what is needed in health, welfare, and education

educational excellence movement

Wave I of the current reform dating from *A Nation at Risk* is the representation of the excellence movement.

Educational Reform Movement

As discussed in this paper, ERM covers

the period from April, 1983 to the present.

Effective Elements of Instruction

EEI is the development of Madeline Hunter. Labeling the components of what she considers good teaching (setting the tone, monitoring and adjusting, active participation, closure, etc.) Hunter's method has been used to train teachers for the past twenty years. Her methods are seen to be too mechanistic and low-level by her critics; and wonderful by her proponents.

EIA: Education Improvement Act

South Carolina enacted this comprehensive legislated educational reform act in 1984 and attached a one-cent dedicated sales tax to its funding

empowerment

In educationese this term means that teachers in the classroom are allowed to make decisions that are more normally thought of as management prerogatives.

Fair-share

In PA, this is the term used to describe the requirement of non-labor union members to pay a portion or "fair-share" of the dues to the organization that represents their category in union negotiations. It is the result of a lobbying effort by the PSEA and is reflected in contracts between locals of PSEA and their school districts.

first wave

See "Educational Reform Movement" and "Excellence Movement" This is the first period of the current reform of

education that tried to set national standards. The term itself is thought to have resulted from the *Nation at Risk* in which a "tide of mediocrity" is discussed.

Goals 2000

Clinton's and Riley's term for the current set of legislation and agendas for educational improvement that indicate where our country should be by the year 2000 on eight measures or goals.

graduation requirements

One of the first areas for reform is the number and levels of courses required in various states in order for a student to graduate from high school.

hands-on learning

manipulative math is one such area where putting one's hands onto actual materials instead of just reading about a concept has been shown to be an effective method of teaching. The National Council of the Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) were among the first to establish a "curricular reform" of their academic discipline and recommend hands-on or manipulative math as ways of instructing.

incentive grants

Payment in money or perks in order to reward or encourage improvement. In SC, incentives are paid to teachers and schools with improvement test scores, attendance, etc. It is a form of merit pay.

inclusion movement

Special Education has been going through an evolution recently. Instead

of pulling children out of the mainstream and putting them in separate facilities and/or classrooms, inclusionary program attempt to place children with both mental and physical handicapping conditions into so-called regular classes to the fullest extent possible.

inequality

When used in educational jargon, it refers the unequal distribution of funds and quality such that the poor get the poorest!

inequity

See "inequality" above.

instructional support teams

IST is the term used in PA to describe a teaming process of pre-referral interventions to assist students in staying in regular education instead of being placed in Special Education. IST is considered to be a successful state reform mandated by legislation in PA to be implemented by 1995

international competition

While no single event or epoch can be cited as the impetus for the current educational reform movement, the perception that the USA is not as high up on the ladder of economic success as compared to some other nations is often given as the reason for our need to reform.

lead teacher

Both when career ladders and site-based management operate in a school, a teacher or teachers are designated as the masters of their craft and lead others to being better.

legislative initiative

Educational reform which originates in the state or national legislative process and is often brought about by a visionary governor who wishes to leave his/her mark on his state.

lifelong learning

Often cited as the real reason to educate our youth so that throughout their lives they will continue to learn and grow.

manipulative math

Hands-on math is another term for this process of teaching and learning math by using objects and providing concrete items in order for students to understand abstract concepts.

mastery learning

Benjamin Bloom originate this concept and term which applies to a type of competency-based learning/teaching in which the student is retaught until mastery of important concepts is acquired.

mediated learning

The Israeli Feurstein developed this instrumental methodology to assist retarded students in thinking conceptually. His materials are now used with "regular" students as well to get them to be critical thinkers. The theory is based on a belief that intelligence is not an unmitigatable commodity that can not be improved.

mediation

A third party who is neutral and trained to intercede is brought into negotiations between parties. (In education circles

this often a process used between boards and their teacher unions when a new contract is being decided.)

mediator

The third party in the above mediation.

merit pay

Loved by boards of education and loathed by most teacher associations, this is the pay increment that one gets for being better than the average.

Nation at Risk

A small book published by the USA government that was composed by the Commission on Excellence in Education appointed by President Ronald Reagan and the brain-child of Terrence Bell, Secretary of Education in 1983 when this was published. The publication of this little treatise is often cited as the beginning of the current educational reform era. In it the mediocrity of US education is castigated and several ideas of areas to improve are given.

national examinations

Some in the reform movement have suggested that we establish national standards and curricula and to see if these are being met administer tests at three different grade levels.

open enrollment

In Minnesota this refers to the "choice" program for public schools and means that students may select to enroll in any school with certain restrictions of space and desegregation applied.

outcomes

What is it that we want students to

know and be able to do at the end of each level of schooling?

outcomes based education

What is it that we want students to know and be able to do at the end of each level of schooling? When this is at the base of how we design our education, then we are using OBE. Curricula is designed up to the outcomes in this field. William Spady is the proponent of one form of this and the Johnson City ODDM is another. The Religious Right objects to this form of education as too intrusive.

peer coaching

A method of improving teaching by selecting another teacher to be a personal coach who honors the privacy of the relationship and does not formally evaluate a peer.

peer teaching

In several methodologies, students in the same class teach one another.

peer tutoring

Peer teaching's other term.

performance assessment

Instead of having students take tests either teacher-made or standardized, this is a method of asking the student to demonstrate what he/she has learned and is capable of doing. A form of "authentic" assessment, the purpose is to have the student to do a real performance that shows accomplishment.

performance-based learning

Another term for OBE and a learning procedure in which the student is

evaluated based on the performance assessment mode.

postsecondary options

Minnesota allows juniors and seniors in high school to enroll in colleges and trade schools to earn dual high-school and college credits. This is one of the tenets of Perpich's "Access to Excellence".

portfolio assessment

Another of the "authentic" modalities of assessment; in this one a folder, collection, display of work selected by the student in consultation with the teacher shows student progress. An example would be a collection of a student's writing samples or artworks over a period of time.

privatization

The process whereby businesses take over public schools and run them as if they were private businesses.

profession

There is some disagreement as to whether or not teachers are really members of a profession since they do not seem to monitor the quality of others, provide an entrance test, or use their personal skills to solve the problems of their field. As long as there are unions to which people belong then there is a question about the level of profession. (Some think that the Bar and the AMA may not provide for profession either.)

professionalism

The manner and demeanor of a professional.

Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers

AFL-CIO; A United Methodist Witness in Pennsylvania; American Association of University Women; American Civil Liberties Union; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Americans for Democratic Action; Americans for Religious Liberty; Americans United for Separation of Church and State; Anti-Defamation League; Eastern PA-Delaware Region; Association of Pennsylvania State College and University Faculties; Citizen Action of Pennsylvania; Citizens Committee on Public Education in Philadelphia; Education Law Center; Fellowship Commission; Freedom to Learn Network; Interdenominational Ministers Conference; Jewish Labor Committee, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania; NAACP-PA; National Council of Jewish Women; Parents Union for Public Schools; Pennsylvania Art Education Association; Pennsylvania Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; Pennsylvania Association for Elementary and Secondary School Principals; Pennsylvania Association of Rural and Small Schools; Pennsylvania Association of School Administrators; Pennsylvania Association of School Business Officials; Pennsylvania Association of School Retirees; Pennsylvania Congress of Parents and Teachers; Pennsylvania Council of Churches; Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers; Pennsylvania Jewish Coalition; Pennsylvania League of Urban Schools; Pennsylvania School Boards Association; Pennsylvania

School Reform Network; Pennsylvania State Education Association; Pennsylvania State Education Association-Retired; People for the American Way; and Philadelphia Home and School Council have all joined together to oppose the vouchers as proposed by Governor Thomas Ridge.

Re:Learning

Ted Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools is also known by this which was adopted by ten states at the Education Commission of the States (ECS) in 1988.

re-invention

Another term for reform as to re-invent oneself. In the current federal government there is a whole process of re-inventing government that is going on under the direction of Vice President Al Gore.

reauthorization

In legislative parlance this is approving a funding bill for another round often accompanied by changes in the original.

reform (educational)

Changes in methods, materials, content, and environments that result in better educating students to be whole and productive citizens. (See *Appendix* for 30 other definitions.)

restructuring

Specific reform that shifts the governance of schools.

Religious Right

Term used to describe a very conservative point-of-view that often is

associated with fundamentalism. In this country it often means Christian Fundamentalists although no religion is immune to narrow interpretations.

Save Our Schools (SOS)

According to his own reports a former Mobile School Board named Alexander founded a national "back to basics" organization called Save Our Schools which has 150,000 supporters in all fifty states. Alexander organized SOS primarily to fight the ever-growing power of the NEA.

school violence

A national problem has increased in the form of guns, knives, assault on teachers and students, gang wars within the confines of school buildings. Many efforts to combat and reverse school violence have been undertaken with little resultant improvement nationwide so far.

school-based decision-making

One of leading contenders as empowerment for teachers and parents is this process of moving decisions from central offices to school sites to committees that give equal voice to principals, teachers, parents, and sometimes even students. This is one of those "bottom-up" reforms that are favored by the unions.

school-to-work

Federally and locally this term refers to the preparation for and transition of students from school settings to employment. There are funds available to assist in this process which is seen as a way of helping us become more globally competitive.

second wave

See "first wave"; this one is dated from the mid to late 80's and encompasses some of the "standards" and "accountability" issues that have been in the forefront of reform. There may have been two or three more waves since although sometimes all of them fall under this term.

service learning

President Bush with his points of light and President Clinton with his volunteers for America were both pushing for involvement in giving. When this process is orchestrated through schools and given some sort of academic credit, it is called by this term.

site-based management

A synonym for *school-based decision-making*.

stakeholders

Current jargon for people and/or groups with vested interests in some activity or concept as students, teachers, parents, administrators, politicians, business people, teacher unions, school board directors, taxpayers, etc. are designated stakeholders in education.

standards

Observable, measurable expectations and objectives of learning for students that are set by schools, districts, states, federal government, etc. The current "wave" of educational reform includes an emphasis on the development of standards.

strategic planning

Instead of "long-range" planning,

school districts have now adopted this business world mode of planning strategically by establishing missions, visions, and strategies to get to those through committees and groups of "stakeholders" who contribute their ideas to the general plan.

students at risk

Term used currently to describe any student who is at risk of not completing a high school education; a potential drop-out; early parlance would have designated these students as failures or potential failures. It is more "politically correct" to use this term.

sub-schools

Schools-within-schools is a concept of the nineties and this term is used to mean that.

teacher empowerment

The *raison d'être* of this paper, it refers to decision-making and other opportunities for teachers to have say in what they are doing.

teacher negotiations

Union contracts for teachers are developed through this process in states where that is permitted. Also called "teacher bargaining".

teacher standards

Observable, measurable expectations and objectives of teaching performance when applied to teachers; expectations of students when applied by teachers.

top-down

When mandates and directives come from a higher authority than the persons receiving them, the orders are

said to be this. the converse is the grassroots "bottom-up" approach.

unionism

Of or belonging to unions; when used to describe education groups, it refers to the phenomenon of teacher bargaining/negotiations which began to occur widely in the 1960's.

unionist

A composite word that means an activist in union organizing or leadership.

urban learners

A term used to describe the unique attributes of inner-city youth who are not under-privileged as we have seen them, but endowed with coping mechanisms, life experiences, and resiliency that school personnel are only beginning to understand. Building on these strengths may help to change the stereotype of poor children and allow educators to see the innate capabilities of all children to learn.

voucher system

The process of allowing public school students to have chits that will pay all or part of the cost of their schooling in places other than their school of residence. Both public and private schools may collect an amount of money from the states where vouchers are in use.

work stoppage

Euphemism for "strike" and a powerful tool of teacher bargaining in some states.

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Each of the quoted informants is listed alphabetically by state in the *Appendices* beginning on page 135. It is here that the reader who wishes to know who said what may find biographic information and the actual statements of the various interviewees.

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